

Museum Archetypes and Collecting in the Ancient World

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Museum Archetypes and Collecting in the Ancient World

Edited by

Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano



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Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements	vii
<i>Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano</i>	
Abbreviations	viii
List of Illustrations and Photo Credits	ix
Notes on the Contributors	xi

Museum Archetypes and Collecting: An Overview of the Public, Private, and Virtual Collections of the Ancient World	1
<i>Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano</i>	

1 Towards the Museum: Perceiving the Art of “Others” in the Ancient Near East	19
<i>Massimiliano Franci</i>	
2 Greek Temple Treasures and the Invention of Collecting	24
<i>Josephine Shaya</i>	
3 Collecting the Past, Creating the Future: Art Displays in the Hellenistic Mediterranean	33
<i>Margaret M. Miles</i>	
4 Hellenistic Court Collecting from Alexandros to the Attalids	45
<i>Ann Kuttner</i>	
5 Poetic Depictions of Ancient <i>Dactyliothecae</i>	54
<i>Évelyne Prioux</i>	
6 The Culture of Collecting in Roma: Between Politics and Administration	72
<i>Paolo Liverani</i>	
7 Archetypes of Collecting in the Roman World: Antiquarianism, Gift Exchange, Identity and Time-Space as Parameters of Value	78
<i>Alexandra Bounia</i>	
8 Verres, Cicero and Other Collectors in Late Republican Roma	91
<i>Alessandra Lazzeretti</i>	
9 Collectables, Antiques and Sumptuary Trends in Ancient Roma: A Look around the Dining Halls of the Late Republic and Early Empire	102
<i>Ida Gilda Mastrorosa</i>	
10 Private Art Galleries in Roma: Literary and Archaeological Evidence	109
<i>Francesca Ghedini and Giulia Salvo</i>	
11 Temple Inventory and Fictive Picture Gallery: Ancient Painting between Votive Offering and Artwork	118
<i>Nathaniel Jones</i>	
12 Collecting Culture: Statues and Fragments in Roman Gardens	129
<i>Richard Neudecker</i>	

13 The Opportunistic Collector: Sources of Statuary Décor and the Nature of Late Antique Collecting	137
<i>Lea Stirling</i>	
14 Collecting and the Creation of History	146
<i>Sarah Bassett</i>	
Afterword. Framing Knowledge: Collecting Objects, Collecting Texts	156
<i>Jaś Elsner</i>	
Bibliography	
Ancient Sources	163
Modern Works	166
Indices	
Index A. Ancient Texts Cited or Mentioned	193
Index B. Place Names	202
Index C. Personal Names	206
Index D. Notable Greek, Latin and Egyptian Words	216
Index E. General Subjects	219

Preface and Acknowledgements

On 26–27 April 2013 the Istituto Lorenzo de' Medici's department of Museum Studies and the Università degli Studi di Firenze's museology concentration of the Dipartimento di Storia, Archeologia, Geografia, Arte e Spettacolo (SAGAS) collaborated in the organisation of an international conference on the theme of collecting in the ancient world – from early antiquity in the Near East to the Early Christian period all over the Mediterranean. The conference was intended to enrich all of our museology students' understanding of the early history of museums as well as supplement our jointly taught advanced graduate seminar entitled "Museum Origins" frequented by students of both institutions. Perhaps because both of us – the conference organisers and course directors – concentrate on the art, collecting and display of the Renaissance period, we felt a need to reach backwards to the ancient origins of the concepts and practices out of which Early Modern museums evolved. Like the main subjects we study – the intellectuals, artists, and patrons of the 16th century – we were and remain attracted to the half alien culture of the ancient world both in its own right and for what it can offer later periods.

When we set out to prepare for the course and the conference we increasingly realized that the foundational work on the museological (or proto-museological) aspects of ancient cultures is still very much in its infancy with 90% of the scholarship dating to the last 20 years. There are still not many scholars who have taken up this avenue of research and there is still much work to be done. Most of those who have studied the collections and display practices of antiquity are represented in this book with chapters alongside others who are addressing these themes for the first time.

By uniting these experts in a single volume arranged in a roughly chronological order by subject matter we aim to offer a better understanding of the role of religion and politics in such collections, of public accessibility, of the methods of preservation and cataloguing used, of the collected works' sources and provenance, and of the modes and means of display and the sorts of discourses these were meant to elicit and by whom. We expect that these essays – to which we have added an introductory chapter mainly directed at offering a chronological survey of collecting practice in antiquity with citations to recent literature – will provide some new questions and set a stronger

foundation for future research, also on later European collecting and display practice.

In addition to the conference participants, each whom is represented by a chapter in this volume, we would like to thank Jaś Elsner who was unable to participate in the conference but who generously agreed to write the book's concluding chapter. We would also like to thank all of the students from both institutions – Justin Barber, Giulia Barletta, Chiara Campioni, Marta Caudullo, Carolina Caverni, Serena Giamporcaro, Maria Maddalena Grossi, Monica Matais, Tania Mio Bertolo, Diana Murphy, Hariklia Rigatos, Randi Ringnes, Olivia Sicignano, Brendan Small, Elizabeth Vogler, Theresa Wilson, Nora Yang – who participated in our bi-lingual seminar on "Museum Origins" during which we tested out much of this material and who worked together for long hours in order to produce a fine virtual reconstruction of the ancient collection of Gaius Verres based on Cicero's account of its contents in the Verrine Orations – possibly the single most important textual source on ancient Roman collecting practice. Further thanks should be given to the participating faculty in the seminar who included Elena Sorge, Massimiliano Franci, Cristina Giachi, and for technical matters, Alberto Zanuzzi and to those who have been of particular help in preparing this volume for publication – the anonymous reviewer, the Brill series editor, John Fossey, and two of our chapter authors, Ann Kuttner and Évelyne Prioux.

We are also pleased to thank the directors of the Center for Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Archaeology (CAMNES), Guido Guarducci and Stefano Valentini, for their endorsement of and participation in our initiative, the Rettorato and Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia of the Università degli Studi di Firenze for their support, and finally we are especially grateful to Carla and Fabrizio Guarducci, general director and president of the Istituto Lorenzo de' Medici for sustaining both the MA in Museum Studies program at the Istituto Lorenzo de' Medici and its collaborative projects. We wish to give special thanks to our MA staff members, Lauren Raffaella Piccolo and Myra Stals, who helped with many of the organisational details of the conference and its publication in this book.

*Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella
Pegazzano*

Abbreviations*

General Resources

ARV ²	Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (New York, 1984).
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, Classica e Orientale</i> (Roma, 1958–1997).
MRR	Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> (New York, 1952).
PIR	Klebs, von Rohden & Dessau (edd.), <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I.II.III</i> (Berlin 1897).
PIR ²	Groag & Stein (edd.), <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I.II.III</i> (Berlin, 1933–).
PG	Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia cursus completus series graeca</i> (Paris, 1857–66).
PL	Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia cursus completus series latina</i> (Paris, 1844–80).
PPM	Carratelli Pugliese, <i>Pompei. Pitture e mosaici</i> (Roma, 1990–2003).

Epigraphical Collections

AEpig	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> (Paris, 1888–).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1828–1877).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–).
IDélos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . 7 vols. (Paris, 1926–1972).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . 12 vols. (Berlin, 1873–).
IGUR	Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Roma, 1968–1990).
Ilion	Frisch, <i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> (Bonn, 1975).
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> (Firenze, 1963).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols., ed. Dessau (Berlin, 1892–1916).
IDidyma	Rehm, <i>Didyma, II. Die Inschriften</i> (Berlin, 1958).
IPergamon	Fränkel, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (Berlin, 1890–95).
IPerge	Merkelbach & Şahin, “Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge” (Bonn, 1988).
ILindos	Blinkenberg, <i>La chronique du temple lindien</i> (København, 1941).
IThesp	†Roesch, <i>Les Inscriptions de Thespies, Fasc. I.</i> , (Lyon, 2007).
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. Dittenberger (Leipzig, 1903–1905).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden & Amsterdam, 1923–).

Papyrological Collections

ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , edd. Bruckner & Marichal, vol. 1 (Dietikon-Zürich, 1954–1998), and online: http://www.urs-graf-verlag.com/index.php?funktion=chla_suche
P. Herc.	<i>Herculaneum papyri</i> , http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=PHerc&ct=o
P. Lond.	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> 3, edd. Kenyon & Bell (London, 1907).
P. Mil. Vogl.	<i>Papiri della Reale Università di Milano</i> , http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Mil.Vogl.html
P. Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus papyri</i> 12, edd. Grenfell & Hunt (London, 1916)

* Full bibliographical citations are given in the bibliographies at the end of the book.

List of Illustrations and Photo Credits

0.1	<i>Column shrine with urn and ornamenta</i> , House of Augustus, 1st c. BCE, Roma (by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)	17
2.1	<i>Temple of Athena Lindia</i> , Lindos, Rhodes (photo: J. Shaya)	24
2.2	<i>Parthenon frieze</i> , British Museum, London (Scala/Art Resource, NY)	28
2.3	<i>Lindian temple chronicle</i> , København (Courtesy The National Museum of Denmark inv. 7125)	29
2.4	<i>Lindian temple chronicle</i> , National Museum of Denmark, København (photo: J. Lund)	32
3.1	<i>Base for Nikias' Palm Tree</i> , Delos (photo M.M. Miles)	34
3.2	<i>House of Dionysos</i> , Pella (photo M.M. Miles)	37
3.3	<i>House 1</i> , Horraon (photo M.M. Miles)	38
3.4	<i>Terrace before Temple of Apollon</i> , Delphoi (photo M.M. Miles)	41
3.5	<i>Altar of Hieron II</i> , Syrakousai (photo B. Wescoat)	42
5.1	<i>Wedding of Psykhe and Eros</i> , cameo signed by ΤΡΥΦΩΝ. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession nr. 99.101 "Marlborough gem" (© Boston, Museum of Fine Arts)	57
5.2	<i>Herakles subdued by Eros</i> , cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25863 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)	58
5.3	<i>Four Erotes playing with Herakles' club</i> , cameo attributed to Tryphon. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze, inv. 14440. (© Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana – Firenze)	59
5.4	<i>Eros guiding a chariot drawn by a pair of lions</i> , cameo signed CΩCTPATΟΥ. British Museum, London, accession number 1890, 0601.37 (© The Trustees of the British Museum (AN00356838))	59
5.5	<i>Eros torturing Psykhe with a torch</i> , cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze, inv. 14445 (© Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana – Firenze)	60
5.6	<i>Aphrodite and Adonis</i> , cameo signed CΩCTPATΟΥ. From the Sangiorgi collection; present location unknown. Drawing after the publication by Sangiorgi	60
5.7	<i>Erotes erecting a trophy on a base</i> , cameo attributed to Tryphon. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 2001.28.8 (© The Beazley Archive)	61
5.8	<i>Nike/Aurora on a chariot</i> , cameo signed CΩCTPATΟΥ. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25844 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)	62
5.9	<i>Two kentauroi</i> , fragmentary cameo signed CΩ[CTPATΟΥ] (?). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25846 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)	62
5.10	<i>Dionysos on a chariot drawn by two Psykhai</i> , cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25840 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)	63
5.11	<i>Intaglio engraved with a skull and a Greek distich by "King Polemon": modern forgery?</i> Present location: unknown (Gori, 1726–1743: III, appendix, 21)	70
10.1	<i>House of the Vestals, peristyle</i> (39). Pompeii VI 1, 7 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia)	112
10.2	<i>House of Ara Maxima, pseudo-tablinum</i> (D), <i>Pinax with Narcissus</i> . Pompeii VI 16, 15-17 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia)	113
10.3	<i>Reconstruction</i> (1995) by Renate Thomas of the so-called Green Room, <i>Pinax with Doors</i> . Trier (© Rheinisches Landesmuseum)	113
10.4	<i>House of the Dioskouroi</i> , tablinum (42). <i>Fresco with Akhilleus on Skyros</i> . Pompeii VI 9, 6 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia)	115
10.5	<i>House of Apollon, summer triclinium</i> (24). <i>Layout of the paintings</i> . Pompeii VI 7, 23 (© Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia)	116
11.1	<i>Cubiculum B</i> , left-hand antechamber wall, ca. 28–19 BCE, Villa della Farnesina, Roma (Photo: author, by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)	120

- 11.2 *Cubiculum B*, rear alcove wall, ca. 28–19 BCE, Villa della Farnesina, Roma (photo: author, by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) 121
- 11.3 *Cubiculum D*, detail of left-hand antechamber wall, ca. 28–19 BCE, Villa della Farnesina, Roma (photo: author, by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) 125
- 11.4 Side B, *Attic Terracotta Bobbin*, attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, ca. 460–450 BCE (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, courtesy of ArtStor Images for Academic Publishing) 125
- 11.5 *Cubiculum B*, detail of rear alcove wall, ca. 28–19 BCE, Villa della Farnesina, Roma (photo: author, by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) 126
- 11.6 *Attic White-Ground Lekythos*, attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca. 450–440 BCE (photo: R. Kühling, courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München) 126
- 12.1 *Reconstruction of Templum Pacis in Rome* (drawing by Inklank Firenze with kind permission) 130
- 12.2 *Villa of the Papyri*, part of ground-plan with sculptures, Herculaneum (drawing by M. Schützenberger, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, with kind permission) 131
- 12.3 *Herm-bust of Doryphoros* from Villa of the Papyri, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli Inv. 4885 (photo Inst.Neg. 64.2186 with permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom) 132
- 12.4 *Villa of Hadrianus*, Canopus from North, Tivoli (author's photo) 133
- 12.5 *Votive relief of Aphrodite* in the House of the Gilded Cupids, Pompeii (photo B 77.2113 by and with permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin) 135
- 13.1 *Small female head* found at the villa of Estación, Antequera, Málaga. Height: 0.17 m. Museo de la Ciudad de Antequera, inv. VE.01.E-2.-71. (Photo courtesy of the Museo de la Ciudad de Antequera) 138
- 13.2 *Striding male figure*, 200–100 BC or later. Egypt, Greco-Roman Period, Ptolemaic Dynasty. Black basalt. 57.9 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Seventy-fifth anniversary gift of Lawrence A. Fleischman in honor of Arielle P. Kozloff 1991.26. (Photo © The Cleveland Museum, by permission) 139
- 13.3 *Overlife-sized male torso* found at the villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in 1843 and lost by 1904, two views (Amtmann 1904, pl. 3, figs. 2–3). Height: 1.70 m 140
- 13.4 *Statue of a giant* found at the villa of Valdetorres de Jarama. Height: 0.61 m. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, inv. 1977/2/1. (Photo courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid) 141
- 13.5 *Group of statuettes excavated at the Panayia Domus in Korinthos in 1999*. Heights range from 0.21 m (Asklepios) to 0.59 m (Roma). (Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations) 145
- 14.1 *Plan of Constantinopolis* (plan: Christopher Ratté after M. Luchterhandt. With kind permission of Christopher Ratté) 147

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Museum Archetypes and Collecting: An Overview of the Public, Private, and Virtual Collections of the Ancient World

*Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano**

In recent decades the scholarly field of Museum Studies has made great strides in the analysis of collecting and display conventions throughout history, especially in the Early Modern period preceding the creation of public museums. Such studies have used the lens of contemporary and historical museum practice to identify related modes of interacting with objects and collections which have both had an impact in later history and have served important functions within society. Less of this sort of attention has been applied to the cultures of the ancient world, though the political, social and religious importance of specific object collections has been receiving increasing attention in the scholarly literature. Drawing on primary sources and archaeological and art historical evidence, the aim of this introductory chapter is to serve as a frame for the specific chapters by reviewing the state of research in this growing field of cultural inquiry which centres upon the differing ways that foreign and domestically produced objects were accumulated, viewed, and acquired meaning from the Archaic to the Late Classical periods through a survey of selected examples. Special attention is given to monuments and object accumulations that have been identified in the scholarship as in some way archetypal of museums and the collecting habits of later periods. While it is beyond the scope of this book to develop arguments about the Early Modern and modern recovery of classical proto-museological traditions – a fruitful and largely unstudied topic – we have occasionally noted points of correspondence. It is hoped that our overview of the ancient material as well as the chapters in this book will serve as a point of departure for future scholarship along these lines.

Collections in the ancient world may be classed into three general types: public, private and virtual or represented. All three of these modern categories were in constant dialogue with each other and took on different significances in different periods and geographic areas. Our division is thus largely one of organizational convenience;

we will try to indicate any overlap as clearly as possible and some collections will be discussed in more than one section. Broadly speaking, by public collections we mean collections that were collectively owned and/or collectively shared. Such collections range from the accumulations in temples or treasuries with their limited visibility to the display of sculpture in public spaces, some of which were privately owned or cared for but which primarily served a public function. Most of the objects in such spaces as well as their architectural containers possessed sacred meanings or associations, raising the issue of how their accumulation, cataloguing and display interacted with their sacred functions, a major theme in recent scholarship on ancient Roman museum archetypes (Bravi, 2014; Rutledge, 2012).

By private collections which we have discussed under the heading “regal and aristocratic” we mean the objects owned by individuals whether kings, political figures or private citizens for which little or no form of public access was foreseen, as in the examples of Roman patrician villas or Hellenistic royal pavilions. Literary references suggest that such collections were first formed in the centres of Pergamon and Alexandria, though it is likely that smaller scale private collecting preceded such spectacular examples (Miles, chapter 3). It is also likely that Near Eastern modes of commemoration and display offered visual and cultural models to the Hellenistic kings, though we have no certain evidence (Thomason, 2005; Franci, chapter 1). The influence of Hellenistic display practice on ancient Roma is more certain and clearly documented both textually and archaeologically, though in Roma the relationship between public and private was unique and particularly complex. Characteristic of the late Roman Republic and early Roman Empire was the growing construction and upkeep of publically accessible monumental structures and a corresponding public quality to the private homes of the patrician élite, though the degree to which city homes were really open to uninvited guests has been interpreted in differing ways in modern scholarship (Coarelli, 2009: 344–59; Rutledge, 2012: 59–60; Clarke, 1991: 1–29).

Virtual collections, whether represented in literary works or pictorially in murals, were sometimes based on real public or private collections, as in a series of epigrams about a specific group of objects such as a gem collection

* Although both authors collaborated on all parts of this text, Gahtan was primarily responsible for the sections on public and virtual collections while Pegazzano was primarily responsible for the section on regal and aristocratic (private) collections.

(see Prioux, chapter 5) or the statuary inside bathing structures (see Bassett, chapter 14) but they could also represent in words or images groupings of objects that never existed either individually or in a collection. Often it is impossible to determine whether a given virtual collection was also a material collection and most likely this ambiguity was sought in some cases by the writers and artists involved.

Public Collections

The first collections of ancient Greece that have been conceptually associated with museums in the scholarly literature are the accumulations of votive offerings in temples and shrines. In particular Alexandra Bounia (Bounia, 2004: 45–172) and Josephine Shaya (Shaya, 2005), both of whom have also contributed to this volume, have stressed the community value of such votive collections whose origins coincide with the rise of institutionalized religion and the creation of the *polis* in the Archaic period. Before this, precious votive objects were more often deposited in graves but as the quantity of grave deposits declined between the 11th and 8th centuries BCE, shrines took their place as the preferred site of votive offerings (Bounia, 2004: 84). Their structures gradually changed from open air altars, sacred trees or columns with or without low surrounding walls (Roux, 1954; Bounia, 2004; see also Evans, 1901) to temples with thatched roofs like the one Khryses, priest of Apollon is said to have constructed for the god's temple in the *Iliad* (i.39). The roof provided protection for the cult image but also created a secure interior space within which arms, tripods, vases, *pinakes*, inscriptions, prayers and other votives could be placed and preserved, though such objects would continue to be affixed to columns and other parts of temple exteriors well into Late Antiquity (e.g. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* iii.11,6). Donated at different times and for different specific reasons, these objects acquired contextual and collective meaning through being united within the sanctuary container. Ultimately it was the collective and community meaning that was of greatest importance and which animated the ritual recording of the dedicated objects in detailed lists. Inventories from the Parthenon and Delos provide an idea of the sorts of offerings these sanctuaries contained in the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods (Harris, 1995; Hamilton, 2000) as well as what was considered most important about such offerings – usually the materials, the typology of object and the donor.

One popular and typical type of shrine grew up around the relics of heroes, especially Homeric heroes. Interest in

heroes' shrines belongs to the transitional period noted above which witnessed the growth in the deposits of votive offerings from grave sites to sanctuaries, suggesting that the fact that many such shrines were also heroes' graves may have been a reinforcing factor. By the 6th century BCE relics which possessed powerful religious meanings were eagerly hunted for, discovered and translated (Neri, 2010; Antonaccio, 1995; Pfister, 1909–12) especially during the foundation of new political orders (Neri, 2010: 231), and epitaphs for Homeric heroes circulated widely, eventually forming literary collections (Gutzwiller, 2010: 219–49).

A parallel and related development of great importance to the history of collections is the esteem for objects of distinguished heroic provenance, first noted in the *Iliad* (i.100–7) in which the poet refers to a sceptre made by Hephaistos for Zeus which then passed through the hands of Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, and Thyestes before it reached Agamemnon (see Pearce and Bounia, 2000: 38–39 and more generally Hartmann, 2010: 107–118). Perhaps because of its Homeric pedigree, what was believed to be this object was still revered in the time of Pausanias and offered daily sacrifice by the people of Khaironeia (Pausanias ix.40,11–12) who claimed to have discovered in it Phokis. According to Plinius, similar attention appears to have been given to Alexandros the Great's personal effects (Appianos, *Mithridatika* 116–17) and Dio Cassius mentions that Alexandros' drinking vessels and armour (which might have included the Shield of Akhilleus) were in Caracalla's possession (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lxxviii.7), demonstrating the continuity of heroic provenance into late Roman times. In the *Archaeology of Nostalgia*, John Boardman insists on the peculiarity of the Ancient Greeks' need to anchor their mythic history in objects, real or described (Boardman, 2002: 188) – a need that contributes to the importance of object provenance as a measure of value in Greek temple collections (see also Borges, 2011). As noted, aside from the material properties, the information most consistently recorded in temple inventories was the name of the donor which was considered integral to the meaning of the object and the collection as a whole.

Temples and the votive objects they housed served to demonstrate the power of the god or hero and by association, the political standing of city to which the temple belonged (Baratte, 1996: 29–33). Such temple collections were community collections which brought pride, lustre and social cohesion to those communities and in this way shared purpose with later national museums. In similar vein, the treasury buildings or *thesauroi* that accumulated in the Archaic and Classical periods around

important sanctuaries such as Delphoi (which had at least 23) and Olympia (which had at least 12) served national ends as physical and spiritual meeting places for citizens of the same *polis* (Bounia, 2004: 87). Closed to public view, except perhaps on special occasions, these containers of votive offerings were themselves the votive offerings of their respective communities. In essence, they gave architectural form and national identity to the collective meaning of the objects they contained, including the periodic inventories taken. Together the offering, inventories and architectural receptacle joined in the forging of a single national votive storehouse animated by its eclectic and valuable collection (Shaya, chapter 2; Shaya, 2005; Bounia, 2004: 96; Rups, 1986; Neer, 2001).

Although new treasuries were not typically built after the Classical period, sanctuaries continued to serve as repositories of votive offerings (as did other types of buildings such as *stoa*), including life-sized or close to life-sized votive statues set up around their exteriors as visible tokens of an individual or a people. Some sacred structures eventually possessed display rooms for specific types of votive offerings, one of the most striking being the Propylaia leading to the Athenian Akropolis which contained a picture gallery for the display of *pinakes*, and which may have been used for sacred meals (Dinsmoor, 1980; Robertson, 1976, 245; paintings exhibited in the 2nd CE are described by Pausanias i.22.6). Precedents to such a space might be found in the famous murals by Polygnotos that decorated the *Leskhe* of the Knidians at Delphoi about which it is hypothesized that a series of clearstory windows might have provided lighting (Dinsmoor, 1973: 206). Another famous picture gallery existed in Sicily on the interior walls of the Temple of Minerva which, according to Cicero, included a series of painted battle scenes of King Agathokles and portraits of other kings and tyrants of Sicily (Cicero, in *Verrem* ii.4,122–3). If we can believe Herondas in the fourth of his *mimiambi*, in the Hellenistic period such spaces could only be visited in the context of offering and sacrifice, but clearly if those religious conditions were met, the viewing of the votive offerings made by famous artists was an added and coveted privilege and the exhibition spaces gradually improved to enhance that viewing.

Even collections not on public view served community purposes, as in the case of the famous Lindian Chronicle of 99 BCE, an inventory-like antiquarian document that lists selected epiphanies of and votive objects offered to Athena at Lindos. As most of the objects no longer existed physically at the site, the votive quality of the document was partly bound up with the great research project of cataloguing selected references to offerings from his-

torical documents so that these could re-emerge as part of the Lindian collective memory (Shaya, 2005; Shaya, chapter 2). The objects were never all displayed together since their donations dated from different eras, but the lists could nevertheless offer a grand pious image of and for the Lindian community throughout history. As in the case of Herondas, it is noteworthy that specific votive objects are extracted from the larger pool, though in this case they represent the view of history promoted by the list's creators rather than the private preferences of fictive temple visitors. Both examples demonstrate how display context – even a represented one – can alter the relational meanings between the (proto-museological) container and the objects it holds.

That the Aristotelian system of cataloguing and collecting specimens for scholarly enrichment might have influenced documents such as the Lindian Chronicle and Hellenistic approaches to the collecting of historically important and artistic objects is tempting (see Miles, chapter 3 and Elsner, *Afterward*). One can easily imagine the Ptolemaioi of Alexandria or the Attalides of Pergamon employing taxonomic strategies in the acquisition and display of painting and sculpture (see Kuttner, chapter 4; Miles, chapter 3; Prioux, chapter 5), not unlike those embraced by the scholars of the legendary Mousaion and Library of Alexandria in their classification of texts and study of natural phenomena (see Fraser, 1972; Canfora, 1986; El Abbadi, 1992, see also Casson, 2003: 31–60).

Cataloguing and comparing requires intensive visual inspection of individual objects which in turn nourishes display practice as well as the development of art history and art criticism (see Tanner, 2006). In comparison to the Hellenic period, the Hellenistic Empires appear to have been more display-oriented cultures (see, for example, Spawforth, 2007: 82–120, esp. 94–101, 112–120 on Alexandros' luxurious tents), possibly in part because of their greater cosmopolitanism and the Near Eastern kingdoms that served as political and propagandistic models – including Franci's considerations in the first chapter of this book about the importance of Near Eastern positive appreciation of the other as a predisposing factor in the making of museum archetypes (see also Shaya, chapter 2). An object's provenance continues to be integral to its value, especially considering the massive influx of foreign articles to Hellenistic centres as a result of imperial conquests. A cornerstone of the discourse on Hellenistic collecting and display since Jerome Pollitt's extraordinary collection of sources and documents is Athenaios' description (reported from an earlier perhaps eye-witness source, Kallixeinos, in *deipnosophistai* v.196a–203b) of the festival pavilion of Ptolemaios II which included pictures from

the famed Sikyonian school, statues, portraits and arms (see Miles chapter 3; Kuttner, chapter 4). While not a public exhibition in the sense that we have defined, the regal collections and temporary exhibitions of the Hellenistic rulers which are discussed more fully in the next section provide important precedents for triumphal displays of Republican Roma which possess a more public character.

In his seminal article, entitled 'Roman Museums' Donald Strong describes the growth of museum-like structures for religious dedication and public benefaction (Strong, 1973: 247) in the ancient Roman capital. Certainly because of the greater state control of religious and public buildings in Roma and the cultural appreciation of public display over private accumulation, such collections more closely resemble later state museum institutions than do the earlier Greek collections. Recent scholarship has nevertheless stressed the ritual attitude taken toward such structures, the collections they house, and the temporary exhibitions which often preceded them (Rutledge, 2012: 92; Bravi, 2012; Bravi, 2014; Elsner, 2008: 177–99), while some have also noted what appears to be a partial desecralisation of objects in Roman contexts (Beaujeu, 1982). The authors of this introductory essay would apply Ann Kuttner's formulation (Kuttner, chapter 4) with respect to Attalid Pergamon more broadly to objects in the public and private collections of Roma: objects on display retained their deep religious meanings while also serving other political, cultural and aesthetic purposes.

The conflation of the sacred and political are characteristic of what may have been one of the earliest Roman memorial traditions: the rebuilding and upkeep of what were believed to have been the hut and birthplace of the legendary first Roman king, Romulus, both located on the Palatine Hill (Edwards, 1996: 32–42; Balland, 1984: 57–80; Rutledge, 2012: 166–9). These sites combine the hero worship already noted in ancient Greece with a more distinctly Roman interest in genealogy and semi-historical foundation myths. Potent civic symbols, these sanctuaries served the ancient Roman community and political order while at the same time embedding a nostalgic approach to the early history of the city, a nostalgia similar to that later reflected in the shrines of the so-called sacro-idyllic landscapes typical of 1st century CE.

A conflicting tradition locates Romulus' Hut on the Capitolium (Rutledge, 2012: 166–9) which some scholars believe was a copy of the Palatine structure (Balland, 1984: 57–80). Besides being the political heart of the ancient city and therefore an appropriate location for Romulus' Hut, the Capitolium was also the site at which most triumphal booty including a large amount of battle gear was deposited in religious dedication. The Temple of Iuppiter

Capitolinus received the lion's share of such spoils and other dedications well into the Imperial Period (see Livius xl.51,3 for the clearing away of such items by Aemilius Lepidus, presumably a periodic occurrence). Erected in the 6th century according to Livius (i.55,1–2), the first temple on this site housed terracotta cult statues by Vulca, an Etruscan artist from the city of Veii, North-West of Roma (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.157). Cult statues from this city must have been highly prized for their religious power since our earliest notice of statues removed from a conquered territory and rededicated in Roma are those taken by Camillus in 396 BCE from Veii.

The terracotta statues from Veii appear to have been taken as part of the rite of *evocatio* (Livius v.21,1–7; v.22,3–7; Strong, 1973: 248; Beaujeu, 1982), as were the removals of 2000 statues from Volsinii by Fulvius Flaccus in 264 BCE for consecration in the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.34; see Isager, 1991: 90; on *evocatio*, see Beard, North and Price, 1998: 34–5, 132–4; Miles, 2008: 48–49). As first discussed by Jerome Pollitt in his influential and broad ranging essay, "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome" (Pollitt, 1978: 155–74), according to Ploutarkhos (*Marcellus* 21,1) and Livius (xxv.40,1–3) Marcellus' capture of Syrakousai in 211 BCE was a turning point with respect to how foreign statues and paintings were experienced in Roma (see also McDonnell, 2006: 68–90 and for a contrasting view, Gruen, 1992: 84–97). Brought to the eternal city seemingly as *spolia* rather than in the context of *evocatio* rituals and given new homes in Roman temples, their fine workmanship was noticed and valued by Roman patricians, a point which will be developed in the section on private collecting.

In the cases of the many more 2nd century BCE examples of successful Roman generals returning home with works of art cited in Livius and Plinius, the objects were similarly many and of varied types, though statues were particularly notable. Generals such as M. Fulvius Nobilior whose 187 BCE victory over the Aetolians enriched Roma with over 500 new statues (Livius xxxix.5,13–16; Polybios, *historiae* xx.30,9; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.66), Aemilius Paulus whose 168 BCE triumph over Pydna brought 250 wagons of new art (Ploutarkhos, *Aemilius Paulus* 32–33; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.54), Quintus Metellus whose 148 BCE plunder of Makedonia provided the Granikos Monument consisting of 25 equestrian bronze statues representing Alexandros and his army from Dion for which he erected the Porticus Metelli facing the Capitoline Iuppiter (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.31), or Mummius, whose 146 BCE sack of Korinthos filled the Italian peninsula with statues, paintings, vases and other luxury items (Strabon viii.6,23; Plinius, *naturalis historia*

xxxv.24), appear to have regarded their *spolia* largely as valuable objects worthy of votive dedication than as gods changing their allegiance to new Roman masters. Accompanying inscriptions identified such donations as *monumenta rerum gestarum*, confirming their status as votive plunder (Strong, 1973: 248; Robert, 1995: 297). It is interesting that for the earliest cases, ancient historians focus on recording cult statues within the context of *evocatio* while for the late 3rd century BCE and later, many more sorts of objects receive attention. Whether or not it was really the case that only cult statues were taken in the earlier period, the tendency suggests the greater importance attributed to cult statues within the ritual context of *evocatio* such that they would be singled out and specifically noted. One might hypothesise that the priority given to *evocatio* in the historic record of Roman conquest was gradually displaced by the votive dedication of a wide variety triumphal booty on a grander scale to Roman gods.

Public exhibition in the capital city was an important consequence of conquest and an important component of religious spectacles. The objects for dedication along with objects of sacrifice were taken in grand ritual procession to the Capitoline Hill with obvious political significance for the triumphing general (Ostenberg, 2009) and conspicuous reference to the opulence of the Eastern kingdoms subdued. Sometimes the spoils went on temporary public exhibition in the Campus Martius or elsewhere before the triumph and their votive dedication (Rutledge, 2012: 123–58, citing Livius xxxix.5 and Plutarchos, *Lucullus* 37,2; see also Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.24–25). In similar vein, paintings representing war victories were carried in procession and exhibited in the *forum* and other central locations (see Holliday, 1997: 130–47) and *aediles*, who were responsible for caring for public buildings and sanctuaries in Republican Rome, organized temporary public exhibitions of artistic objects for religious festivals (Coarelli, 1996: 15–84; Coarelli, 1995; Beaujeu, 1982; Rutledge, 2012). Usually these objects were borrowed from local private collections, though there are references to objects being brought from great distances such as Gnaeus Claudius' borrowing of Praxiteles' *Eros* from the Sicilian city of Messene in 99 BCE (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,3). The attention given to the public display of individual objects of high artistic and cultural value in these religious contexts marks a decided advance in viewing prospects and intensity compared with that accorded votive offerings inside and outside of temples. Although partaking of the similar collective votive and political meanings, these works were exhibited in part so that their individual qualities could be observed.

The 2nd century BCE also witnessed the creation of special buildings whose function was to house triumphal booty and the general's personal collections, making them available for permanent public viewing. Steven Rutledge recognizes a precursor to such structures in the example of M. Fulvius Nobilior who not only deposited nine statues of the Mousai acquired in his Ambrakian campaigns of 187 BCE in the Temple of Hercules Musarum but also transferred an important ancient Roman shrine of the Camenae to this site. It was in these structures that he dedicated his *fasti* and *res gestae* (Rutledge, 2012: 222–3 citing also Gruen, 1992: 109). By concentrating his dedications in one location, the site in some sense became associated with his person and triumphs and in this way prefigures the *porticus* that Quintus Metellus would later erect next to the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus to house the 25 statues he lifted from Dion (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.31). Such dedications and monuments were important for the political visibility of their dedicators as pious powerful individuals much in the same way that the display of captured arms positioned on the exteriors of generals' homes marked their achievements in earlier periods (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.5–8; see also Plutarchos, *Marcellus* 21,1), but they also serve to affirm the greatness of Rome through the greatness of the objects she possessed.

Just as the classical Greek treasuries were themselves votive offerings, erected to house the national collections of donations at a particular sanctuary, Metellus' *porticus* was a specially designed votive architectural container that provided an aggregate votive meaning to the statues and its other contents. In the Roman case that collective national meaning is focused on an individual donor whose *monumenta res gestae* possessed an integrity that was both connected to and separate from the Temple of Iuppiter. Fashioned with a viewing public in mind as if to record his Greek triumph in a permanent visible monument, the *porticus* served as a physical and conceptual frame for its captured contents. Both of these aspects – the monumental reference to an individual to generate meaning for the collected objects and the public accessibility of the individual statues – were further amplified in the more extravagant structures of the late Republic and early Empire (see Holliday, 2002). Recent studies have reasonably stressed the continuity between the public dedication of objects and architectural structures and the public dedication of entire collections. While this continuity certainly exists, it is equally important to recognize that with the public dedication of entire collections, the votive containers normally post-date the collected objects and were usually constructed (or re-constructed) for them

so that their overall cultural meaning derives as much from the objects themselves and their dedicator, as from the architectural container erected to house them, however magnificent and imposing that container might have been. Collections are valued as collections of selected great works and as such required their own appropriate public viewing spaces in the form of votive receptacles.

One of the *monumenta* most discussed in the scholarly literature is Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus' precinct which was largely complete by 55 BCE. It included a temple to Venus Victrix, a porticoed courtyard and public theatre – the first marble theatre in Roma. Pompeius began erecting these structures after his return from his Asiatic campaigns and self-consciously used Hellenistic Pergamene architectural models (Kuttner, 1999: 348) to house his eclectic collection combining all sorts of works of differing periods and styles (Coarelli, 1996: 360–81). Some of the statues such as the fourteen representing different nations reflected the idea of conquest and *imperium* while others referred to marvels such as a woman who gave birth to an elephant (Rutledge, 2012: 212). The central courtyard was a veritable botanical garden with plants imported from conquered territories (Kuttner, 1999). If the large number of itinerary poems – by Propertius, Catullus, Antipatros and Martialis – that include the items on display in this monument and which have been discussed in detail by Kuttner (1999: 350–71) are any indication, Pompeius' precinct must have been one of the most visited and appreciated in Roma, as well as one of the most extensive public collections of art and exotica. Viewing conditions were particularly fine in the *exhedra* that concluded the *porticus* behind the theatre portion, so this monument also marks an advance in display techniques over the often narrow *porticus* (Strong, 1973: 258).

Julius Caesar's Temple complex dedicated to Venus Genetrix which received even more notice in the surviving written sources (Rutledge, 2012: 226–35) boasted a similarly eclectic assemblage of different media – coins, gems, paintings, statuary – both inside and outside (Bravi, 2012: 77–82; Rutledge, 2012: 226–35), while the *monumentum* of Caesar's supporter, Asinius Pollio inaugurated a new phase in the public dedication of collections by Roman generals. Rather than build a new monument after his Illyrian conquest of 39 BCE, Pollio received approval to rebuild the 2nd-century BCE Atrium Libertatis located on the North West corner of Caesar's *forum* (Bravi, 2012: 82–93; Nicholls, 2014: 82–97; Palombi, 2014: 98–118; Salles, 2014: 119–132). Of great dimensions, it contained a public library (possibly the first in Roma) and large viewing spaces for a collection of artistic works that included objects attained during military campaigns and works acquired by other means,

some commissioned specifically for the display. In his pioneering study on Pollio and Plinius, Becatti (Becatti, 1956: 199–210) makes much of this latter development, because it releases the public display of collections from the traditional focus on captured booty. The fact that by the time the monument was completed sometime around 28 BCE political competition would have been less important due to the collapse of the Republic (Rutledge, 2012: 223–4), may have contributed to toning down the triumphal theme in favour of civic enrichment. Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxvi.33) assures his readers that Pollio wanted his collection to attract visitors.

It was in 28 BCE that Agrippa made his well-known recommendation that patrician collectors make their collections public instead of hiding them in country villas (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.26, discussed in Becatti, 1956; Pollitt, 1978), a speech that recalls Cicero's professed attitude in the *Verrine orations*. Certainly Pollio's public offering belongs to this same cultural current, as did Agrippa's own *Saepta Iulia* (26 BCE), based on similar Hellenistic architectural models that inspired Pompeius, and the Pantheon (27 BCE), both of which were filled with sculpture and other works for public viewing (Bravi, 2012: 133–40; Celani, 1998: 214–22 on contents of *Saepta Iulia*), though the ritual context would have remained an important component. This latter may have begun as a dynastic monument to Augustus on the far end of the Campus Martius which already contained many generals' monuments and whose circular shape was meant to link urbanistically with Augustus' mausoleum (Broucke, 2009: 27–29).

The collections of Augustus' own house, *forum* and temples combine his support for Roman gods and traditions and his recognition of the importance of Greek cultural heritage with the sort of self-promotion one would expect from the first emperor of a people that valued the display of genealogy and individual fame (see Haug, 2001: 111–23). The grounds of Augustus' house on the Palatine contained the sanctuary of Lupercale, the sacred place where Romulus was saved by the wolf, which the emperor rebuilt and which some archaeologists believe to have been recently discovered. Augustus' *forum* supported his Temple of Mars Ultor, in which arms and weapons were dedicated, as well as a long two-level porticoed gallery with statues and paintings of the great men of Roma from the Iulian clan on the ground floor and busts of gods on shields on the second floor (Geiger, 2008; Strong, 1973: 249–50; Rutledge, 2012: 123–58). Many other public buildings and temples – especially those dedicated to Apollon such as the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus – were restored and filled with

Greek sculpture during his reign (see Celani, 1998: 173–259; Bravi, 2012: 95–166). In all cases, individual objects as well as series (such as the Iulian portraits) were visually supported by their monumental architectural frames and it is likely that the objects selected for display by Augustus as well as Asinius Pollio and Agrippa reflected what was then considered appropriate for public edification, as well as for personal and political propaganda.

Monuments completed under Tiberius such as the Porticus Octaviae (essentially a refashioning of the Porticus Metellus with more sculpture added, 23 CE), the Aedes Concordiae (10 CE), and the Temple of Divus Augustus (37 CE) embraced a similar approach to collecting, while further enhancing viewing prospects. The *porticus* (Audoly, 2008: 24) may have been rebuilt with viewing as a first priority, while the Aedes Concordiae and possibly also the Temple of Divus Augustus included dedicated exhibition spaces. In the case of the Aedes Concordiae, a long *podium* supported 10 niches with statues that were lit by windows – an unusual architectural feature that can only be explained as an attempt to improve the viewing environment (Gros, 1976; Becatti, 1956–7).

Along with establishing the public collection and gallery space as a typical feature of urban Roma, towards the end of his reign Augustus was also responsible for a revision of the administration of public art and architecture, creating the figures of two *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* to replace the *aediles* and *censores* whose responsibility this had been before. *Curatores* reported directly to the emperor and possessed significant staffs which grew larger and more specialized over time (Strong, 1973: 253; Audoly, 2008; Rutledge, 2012: 287–310; Beaujeu, 1982; Liverani, chapter 6). One of their important tasks inherited from previous Republican offices was to produce inventories of public collections which often included markings on statues and bases (see Liverani, chapter 6; Di Mino, 1991: 9–15; La Regina, 1991: 3–8; Nicole, 1906) indicating provenance, location, artist and donor's name. In his *Verrine orations*, Cicero mentions the official catalogue of the public treasury which recorded “the size, shape, and attitude” of statues dedicated there by Publius Servilius (“non solum numerum signorum set etiam unius cuiusque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri vides”: ii.1,21) and Livius mentions an inventory made as early as 212 BCE (Livius xxv.7; on this, see Rutledge, 2012: 300). The Romans were willing to invest much time and money on monitoring and upkeep and the extensive bureaucracy put in place in the early Roman Empire served to preserve monuments and collections well into Late Antiquity (see Rutledge, 2012: 287–310).

Before turning to Late Antiquity and the Palaeochristian period, a word should be said about Vespasianus' Temple of Peace, the first imperial *forum* erected after Augustus' *forum* with its Temple of Mars Ultor. Dedicated in 75 CE, this porticoed structure was filled with Hellenistic masterpieces of painting and sculpture taken from Nero's Domus Aurea (described in the next section as an example of a private aristocratic collection) but also precious objects deriving from Titus' Yerushalayim campaign (Ostenberg, 2009: 111–19; Bravi, 2012: 167–82; Rutledge, 2012: 272–84; ongoing archaeological excavations are described in many essays in Meneghini & Rea, 2014: 242–341). As a votive container that coloured the meaning of the collections it held while at the same time enhancing the viewing conditions of individual works, this architectural structure is similar to those erected by Pompeius Magnus or Augustus. What may distinguish it is the contemporary perception that the collections it housed represented the whole world – an archetype of the universal museum as the product of empire that Plinius also recognized in the varied marbles of Scaurus' (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.113) and Curio's theatres (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.118–19; see Carey, 2003: 97–99). Iosepos specifically suggests as much to his readers when describing the monument (Iosepos, *historia Ioudaikou polemou pros Rhomaious* vii.5,7) and the concept also accords with Plinius' project in writing the *naturalis historia*. As recent scholarship has emphasised (in particular the dedicated volumes of Isager, 1991 and Carey, 2003), Plinius' book was meant to unite all parts of the empire by making a parallel between the physical preservation of objects and natural resources in a *thesaurus*, and the preservation of the memory of things on his pages (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiv.2–7). Although essentially hyperbole, Plinius' comparison of the dedication of his book to Titus to the dedication of an object in a temple, is striking (Plinius, *naturalis historia* praef.19) in our context. Both the book and the object become more valuable through their dedications. Plinius' book would seem to recreate in literary form the votive container of Vespasianus' Templum Pacis, both of which offer a universal display of empire by means of an object collection brought together in harmony under one roof (see König & Woolf, 2013: 23–63). Both also anticipate and influenced the universal aspirations that Renaissance humanists brought to their encyclopaedic collections, often described as microcosms of the world (Findlen, 1989).

Universal displays and eclecticism or *varietas* were important features of the urban landscape of Imperial Roma even after the 1st century CE. Old temples continued to be filled with the booty of conquests and new temples

and monuments continued to be dedicated after important victories, while the state administration continued to provide for the upkeep, management and conservation of earlier collections. Other spaces such as public baths (Di Mino, 1991; Candilio, 1991) provided alternative venues for appreciating captured art which often had a religious origin and eventually also objects from Roman temples that were waning in use. Under the Sextus Anicius Paulinus who served as consul and city prefect in the early decades of the 4th century, for example, statues were transferred from pagan sanctuaries to public baths and other public locations (Strong, 1974: 254).

A hallmark of Early Christian style was the pervasive use of architectural and sculptural *spolia*. Scholars have suggested various interpretations of this trend which increased over the course of the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, but whatever interpretation whether purificatory, magical, triumphal, connoisseurial, or merely practical, the new eclectic style privileged *varietas* over classical order and symmetry (Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990: 53–54; Saradi, 1997: 396–404; Elsner, 2004: 287–293, 304–9). We would like to suggest further that the *varietas* and eclecticism of Roman collections in public, private and sacred spaces should be recognized as parallel to and perhaps as an influencing factor on this new artistic style, described by Jaś Elsner as an aesthetic of bricolage (Elsner, 2004: 307).

In a magisterial article on the Arch of Constantinus, Elsner has demonstrated how the reliefs on this arch which have been refashioned from many different imperial monuments represent “a collection of *spolia*” and “a carefully designed object for the display of *spolia*” (Elsner, 2000: 153). Although taking the traditional form of a triumphal arch, the Arch of Constantinus was commemorative of Constantinus’ role as emperor rather than of a triumph and he re-used the monuments of previous emperors to make this point. The votive context of the object is decreed in the short inscriptions over the small archways “VOTIS x – VOTIS xx” and “SIC x – SIC xx” which probably refer to the anniversaries of his reign and link it to the previously discussed pagan votive *monumenta* of Roman generals.

While the arch makes a universal statement about Constantinus’ role with reference to historical time and typological relationships, the Christian emperor’s larger public projects in New Roma identify the new capital city not only with Roma and with Troia, but also across the wide geographic space of the empire – in essence the urban realization of Vespasianus’ universal temple exhibition. Sarah Bassett notes that Constantinus brought objects from at least 25 different cities to Constantinopolis in order to provide it with a past, setting them up in the

Senate House, the Forum, the Hippodromos and the Baths of Zeuxippos among other locations (Bassett, 2004: 37–78). Constantinus’ approach to imperial display follows that of past Roman emperors for the Roman capital and quite a few objects were taken from Roma itself. Later emperors and their officials appear to have followed suit, the most exceptional case being the 5th-century CE collection of Theodosios II’s *praepositus sacri cubicula*, Lausus, which he displayed publicly in a *porticus* linked to his palace. The format recalls the *porticus* and other *monumenta* erected by Roman generals to dedicate their spoils, but the statues on view were not war booty but rather renowned cult statues such as Praxitelles’ *Aphrodite of Knidos*, Pheidias’ Olympian *Zeus* as well as less famous images of minor gods and *kentauroi* and other animals, and the *porticus* was not associated with a sanctuary. Although the precinct was presumably destroyed by fire in 475 CE, the collection was so extraordinary that the later Byzantine writers Zonaras and Kenendros recorded some of its contents (Mango, 1963; Bassett, 2000 and 2004; Bardill, 1997). The abandonment and widespread closing of pagan temples along with the prohibition of pagan rituals was a key factor in making such sculpture available, though Lausus may have acquired works in other ways as well.

Perhaps the most important question that this collection raises is how such pagan cult art was viewed, given that Lausus was considered to be an exemplar of Christian virtue (Mango, 1963: 89). The fact that the display format follows ancient Roman votive models complicates rather than simplifies the debate. The works could be considered a form of pagan booty captured in Christian conquest, much the way that architectural *spolia* are sometimes interpreted (Bassett, 2000: 19). If perceived in this way, the precinct would have served as a public votive offering that also sustained its creator’s worldly reputation, not unlike Constantinus’ earlier arch, though without the specific historical references to past emperors. Alternatively or perhaps concurrently, the statues might have been considered as still powerful, serving to test or even be used by a superstitious population (Mango, 1963: 63; Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990: 55–6; James, 1996: 18). Perhaps the statues were meant for public ridicule – the justification Eusebios gives for Constantinus’ erection of so many pagan statues in his new capital (Eusebios of Kaiseria, *eis ton bion Konstantinou* iii.54; see Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990: 50; Mango, 1963: 56–57; Elsner, 2000: 155). Finally, they may have been wholly decorative so that the votive format established in the Roman republic was transformed into civic ornament (it is perhaps relevant that the word *ornamenta* was typically used by Latin writers to refer to the

votive donations that were affixed to temples even as late as Macrobius [*Saturnalia* iii.11,6]). Early Christian texts such as a 382 CE ruling of the Theodosian code in which a temple was kept open because ‘images [*simulacra*] are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity [*artis pretio quam divinitatis*]’ (cited from Stirling, 2005: 160) or Prudentius later plea to ‘let these statues, the works of great craftsmen, stand undefiled; let them become the most beautiful adornments of our native city – may no depraved purpose taint these works of art, no longer in the service of evil’ suggest that pagan cult and votive statues and, by extension, collections of them, could by then be appreciated on a wholly aesthetic level as ornamental in the modern sense (Prudentius, *contra Symmachum* i.499–505, discussed in Bassett, 2000: 19). Even Iustinianus I who ordered the destruction of pagan temples in Egypt, had their statues sent to Constantinopolis (Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990: 51) so the question of interpretation must continue to be posed at least through the following century, if not through the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

In general, the importance of public space and therefore public collections and display culture gradually diminished in Late Antiquity such that homes were built in formerly public areas and presumably existing public sculpture was sold or taken (see Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990: 51). Such works might have been absorbed into private collections for which similar interpretive questions hold both regarding the individual works and their collective meanings. Comparable uncertainty surrounds the role of religion in general – pagan and eventually Christian – with respect to the extensive private collections about which we begin to have notice as early as the Hellenistic period.

Regal and Aristocratic Collections

As we have discussed, the exalted view that the Greeks had regarding works of art – as the repositories of values which affected the entire society – resulted in their being placed in temples and on view in public places which were highly representative of their communities (Bianchi Bandinelli, 1950: 42). It was only at a later time that what we might term private collecting emerged, even as the public exhibition of the works of art continued and flourished. Private collecting developed in an important way among the aristocrats of Magna Graecia in the context of Hellenistic courts and then, as fully demonstrated by different textual sources and archaeological research, in late Republican and Imperial Roma. In the Greek world

we can begin to talk about non-temple collections as early as the 5th century BCE (Miles, chapter 3). At that time the cities of Magna Graecia were flourishing economically and private citizens began to enjoy luxury, including works of art; for example, according to the testimony of Diodoros Sikeliotes (xiii.90,3, see Miles, chapter 3) in the city of Akragas numerous valuable works of art were found in the homes of wealthy citizens when the city was sacked by the Carthaginians (406 BCE). The same can be said for Syrakousai during the rule of the tyrant Dionysios I: his use of art as political propaganda has been viewed as an antecedent for what Hellenistic rulers would later do. Even in Makedonia at the court of Arkhelaos I we can notice the same orientation toward luxury, precious objects, art and artists that might indicate collecting practices (see Miles, chapter 3). It is, however, only after the death of Alexandros and the subsequent formation of the Hellenistic kingdoms that collecting reaches the sort of cultural importance that led to the emergence of a conscious and mature consideration of art which would then be directly inherited by Roman society (Bounia, 2004: 129; Kuttner, 1995).

It is therefore within the complex societies of the Hellenistic period with their dynastic lineages and engagement in the construction of their own cultural identities that scholars have revealed the existence of collections in temples, in libraries, and in private spaces of the sovereign (see Kuttner, chapter 4; Caruso, 2014: 61–81). The context for these collections was a deep reverence and longing for classical Greece, then considered to have been a golden age of achievement in culture and art which the Hellenistic kings attempted to revive (Hansen, 1971: 316) – typical reasons for museological activities in many periods. It is in their search for art and for every trace of classical Greek thought that Hellenistic culture created eclectic collections where ancient and modern art coexisted and where genres and cultures were mixed (Bounia, 2004: 129). In the main centres of the Hellenistic world, Alexandria and Pergamon, scholars have been able to identify the places housing collections: the *atria* of libraries, the libraries themselves, the halls of the royal palaces, gardens, banquet halls (*oikos*) which represented, as a place of *symposia*, one of the most important zones of the Mouseion in Alexandria (see Caruso, 2014: esp. 65–68 on *mouseia*). For many of the ancient royal collections it is difficult to establish the boundary between public and private collecting since both are the enactment of dynastic power and the result of the same cultural policies. Also the collections of the temples and the libraries were physically close to those within the royal palaces and all were surrounded by the same aura of sacredness.

In Alexandria Ptolemaios I Soter together with his successor, Ptolemaios II Philadelphos are responsible for creating the famous Mouseion with which they intended to revive Greek culture, concretely represented by the figure of the peripatetic philosopher Demetrios Phalereus. The Mouseion of Alexandria (Fraser, 1972: vol. 1, 314; Canfora, 1986: 28–33) was a place of research and study, of preservation and classification, and probably of exposition of works of art. Archaeological findings in Pergamon may give some indication as to how sculptures might have decorated the Mouseion. Such works of art would have served to support this research unit built on the basis of a “new conception, both of the physical world and of the creations of the past” (Fraser, 1972: vol. 1, 304), and where the goal was the universality of knowledge based on direct observation of phenomena and reality. Even if Strabon (xvii.1,8) does not mention collections within the Mouseion, we have the testimony of Athenaios (of Naukratis) in his *deipnosophistai* which describes paintings and sculptures that were probably on display in the *atrium* of the Library and under the arcades of the central courtyard, and also rarities and curiosities of all kinds. (Canfora, 1992: 49–62; Ruggieri Tricoli, 2006: 137). The Mouseion was conceived as a community of scholars closely linked to the ruling dynasty and in fact it was located within the royal area and was considered almost as an extension of the buildings of the Lagidai. It was a tangible sign of the cultural views of Egyptian kings and one of the fundamental tools for the construction of their Greek identity. They considered themselves to be the heirs of the greatness of Alexandros the Great whose *sema* had been placed by Ptolemaios I near the royal palace of Alexandria (Erskin, 1995: 41).

The residential collections of the Ptolemaic rulers were presumably just as rich in works of all kinds. The aforementioned account by Kallixeinos from Rhodes (contained in Athenaios’ *deipnosophistai*) that describes the festival Pavilion of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos offers an idea of this richness. It was built for a *symposion* on the occasion of a magnificent procession organized in Alexandria around 276/279 BCE. The precise reasons for this procession are still under discussion, but it was certainly meant to celebrate the greatness of Alexandros and the dynasty of the Lagidai. The huge number of objects arranged for furnishing the Pavilion – a Delphic tripod, a sofa with feet in the shape of a sphinx, carpets, fabrics, tableware, gold, flowers and animal skins, paintings of the school of Sikyon, more than a hundred statues (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* v.196a–203b; Pollitt, 1986: 280–281; Jacob, in 2001: 493–510; Miles, chapter 3 and Ghedini-Salvo, chapter 10) – were probably moved there for the occasion

from the royal palaces and therefore provide an idea of how the halls of a Ptolemaic Palace might have appeared. The works of art – big sets of sculptures and paintings – were displayed against a background of precious fabrics; the paintings were, for example, hung between the columns of the halls and porches. The usage of hanging pictures in the intercolumnar spaces and thereby creating a sort of architectural frame for them is perhaps mirrored in the clipeate images with effigies of heroes that one can find in Roman painting, for example in the House of Impluvium and in the peristylum of the House of the Gilded Cupids in Pompeii (Ruggieri Tricoli & Vacirca, 2006: 51; Ghedini-Salvo, chapter 10). Kallixeinos’ affirmation that the paintings exhibited in the Pavilion belonged to the school of Sikyon, a main centre of Greek painting along with Korinthos, can be also found in Ploutarkhos (*Aratos* 12,6–13,5). Ploutarkhos recounts how Aratos, the tyrant of Sikyon obtained military aid from Ptolemaios III of Egypt by giving him Greek paintings made by artists from the school of Sikyon and also by advising him on the best works of art to buy.

The other great Hellenistic centre, the Pergamon of the Attalids, provides a lot of information related to collecting including both the methods of acquisition and the modes of exhibition of works of art (Fränkel, 1891; Alsop, 1982: 192–193; Howard, 1986). As in Alexandria works of art on public display which served a celebratory role for rulers and their conquests (e.g. the victory over Galati) shared similar characteristics to those acquired to enrich their personal collections. At this same time in parallel with the development of large-scale collections that probably involved courtiers and wealthy people, the discipline of the history of art was born (Gualandi, 2001; Tanner, 2006). Encouraged by the sovereigns, scholars “classified” artists and artistic schools and established the criteria for selecting works of art by the Attalid court. Not only did the Attalids promote the writing of art treatises – in this context we can remember the sculptors Xenokrates of Sikyon and Antigonos – but they also collected texts related to various currents and artistic techniques in the library which was attached to the shrine dedicated to Athena. They furthermore introduced the theme of the role of the artistic patronage, an element that would be absorbed by the Roman writers of the late Republican period (Kuttner, 1995: 163).

Closely related to collecting practice is the production of copies of famous masterpieces that were impossible to own: a well-known example is the copy of the *Athena Parthenos* of Pheidias which was placed in the Library of Pergamon along with other replicas of famous sculptures. This complex formed a sort of anthology of the artistic

masterpieces of classical Greece. The Attalids had a primary interest in archaic Greek art which was often visible alongside contemporary works so that different periods and styles were mixed and presumably compared (Bounia, 2010: 129). Sculptures placed in the sanctuary of Athena in Pergamon, for example, were given new bases indicating the names of several known artists (Myron, Praxiteles, Onatas, Theron, Silanion) (Hansen, 1971: 316; Kuttner, chapter 4). All of the Attalids were united by a deep admiration for Greece and its past that inspired them to utilize Greek architectural and urban models for Pergamon, making their capital into a new Athenai. The city became a sort of Greek museum that anticipates the “architectural museum” of Hadrianus’ Villa in Tivoli (Ruggieri Tricoli & Vacirca, 2006: 127).

It is from the Hellenistic courts and especially from Pergamon that Roma, heir to the Attalids’ works of art as well as their collecting practices, develops a growing interest in art, collecting, and the production of copies, which they use to ennoble both public and private spaces (Gazda, 2002). Cicero repeatedly speaks of the Hellenisation of Roman society, citing the example of Pergamon, while affirming that Verres and other collectors like him had filled their houses with works of art from that city (*in Verrem* ii.4.127; Kuttner, 1995: 166). The art and monuments of Pergamon also seem to have had a decisive influence on the collection of Pompeius.

The Roman world produced the values that anticipate the private collecting practices of the modern era (Pollitt, 1978: 162): the development of artistic literature (drawing on work from Pergamon and Alexandria); the birth of “connoisseurs” such as Titus Pomponius Atticus (Miles, 2008: 226–231) the correspondent of Cicero, who was a collector himself and who seems to have taken part in the decorative program of the Theatre of Pompeius and its attached porches (Kuttner, 1999: 353); the development of an art market to meet the needs of a growing demand; the “passion” of ownership; the tendency to accumulate; the need to possess a full set of objects or unique valuable antique specimens; the phenomenon of the copy; and the taste for the patina, the fragment and the art quotation. The desire to own rare and precious objects including works of art and furnishing became an obsession for some, such as the furious search by collectors for Korinthian ware, or *Murrha* vases, or the wooden tables of *thuya* which became major status symbols (see Mastorosa, chapter 9) and garnered exorbitant prices. Pollitt (1978: 158) noted two attitudes towards the arrival of Greek art and luxury objects in Roma: a “Catonian attitude” in opposition to luxury which existed from the late 3rd century BCE until at least the reign of Vespasianus, and a “connoisseur’s

attitude” adopted by many rich collectors. A figure such as Cicero would have rested uncomfortably between these two poles.

Private collections usually involved the creation of an exhibition itinerary that corresponded to a specific program consistent with the nature of the places of exposition, as for example in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum (Bartman, 2010: 74; Neudecker, chapter 12) or the groups of sculptures and buildings (including copies and reconstructions) at Hadrianus’ villa which were used to summarize past times or faraway places and thus the collection was conceived as an evocation, through objects, of a specific context (Marvin, 1993: 161–188). In both indoor and outdoor displays, symmetry (Bartman, 1988) and the thematic affinity of works of art with the places where they were placed was very important. Cicero describes the concept of *decor* in his letters to Atticus (i.8.2), a concept that would have an important afterlife for the display of ancient and later sculpture in the Renaissance.

It seems to have been a peculiarity of Roman society for private individuals to show the masterpieces of their collections in public. We have noted the temporary exhibitions and permanent structures used to house these displays as in the example of Asinius Pollio who, according to Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxvi.33), wanted his collections to be admired with his same passion (Becatti, 1956: 208). Asinius is an excellent representative of the dual nature, public and private, of Roman collecting. His famous *monumenta*, discussed earlier in the section on public collections and his gardens, and the Horti Asiniani, both offered a public venue for his sculpture collections. His library included a gallery of portraits of writers and philosophers derived from the models of Hellenistic libraries (La Rocca, 1998: 203–74; Miles, 2008: 238–39; Spinola, 2014: 155–175).

During the period of the late Republic and the early Augustan age the habit of collecting portraits of famous people spread from libraries, such as the one adorned by Asinius, to private homes. Plinius affirms that in an earlier period aristocratic Romans exhibited wax masks of their ancestors and family trees (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.6–8; Flower, 1996: 185–222) in the atria of their houses, a semi-public receiving space. He praises this habit of exhibiting ancestors’ images as virtuous, in opposition to the contemporary usage of collecting portraits of famous people in luxurious materials (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.4–5). Plinius indicated how this type of collection had become typical of Roman taste so that Romans sought out or commissioned portraits as status symbols, though such collections also possessed moral value as *exempla*. Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.11) refers to the love for the “portraits of famous people” by Titus

Pomponius Atticus, author of epigrams (now lost) of great men correlated with their images and we know that Marcus Terentius Varro collected seven hundred images of famous people in the now lost *hebdomades vel de imaginibus* (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.11). These series of images in books would seem to correspond to the galleries of paintings portraying similar subjects, especially in the houses of scholars.

We have discussed how a first important phase for the development of public collections in Roma coincides with the late Republican period when many historians (Livius xxv.40,1–3; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.24, xxxv.26–28; Ploutarkhos, *Marcellus* 21,1–7) note the Romans' growing appreciation for the ever larger numbers of works of art that arrived in the city as part of the war booty of the victorious generals of the cities of Magna Graecia, the Hellenistic kingdoms and Greece itself (Pollit, 1978: 155–174). The impact on private collecting would have been equally significant. The capture of Syrakousai by Marcellus in 211 BCE was an important antecedent to Roman private collecting because of its role in at least stimulating (if not initiating as Livius maintains, xxv.40,1–3) the Romans' artistic and aesthetic appreciation of statuary and other fine objects: "initium mirandi Graecorum artium opera". These attitudes toward objects were quickly followed by the criticism of intellectuals such as Horatius (*epistulae* ii.1,93–98), Cato (Livius xxxiv.4,1–5), and Seneca (*ad Lucilium* lxxxvi.1–8) who contrast contemporary luxury with the Spartan military virtues of earlier times.

Initially the works of art were exhibited in temples and it was only at a later time that the conquered items became part of the personal collections of the victorious generals. As we have noted earlier, the phenomenon eventually became so widespread as to arouse the disapproval of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.26) who advised that art should be on view for the public to enjoy and admire and not be concealed in private homes and villas. A similar criticism, however instrumental, was made by Cicero in his case against Verres who kept in his house works of art stolen from sanctuaries thus preventing a "public use" (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,55–57; Lazzeretti, chapter 8). While war booty was a typical and ancient practice, what characterized the Roman approach was the inexorable and systematic plunder of public and private places in the territories they conquered. In addition to the cities of Magna Graecia, historians mention other conquests that led to a massive influx of works of art and precious objects to Roma. Some of these have already been mentioned in conjunction with the public dedication of votive offerings in temples but others may be cited here that speak to the grand-scale looting of private wealth –

as in the victory of Titus Quinctius Flaminius over Philippos v of Makedonia in 194 BCE in Kynoskephalon and the victory over Ambrakia and the subsequent looting of Pyrrhos' palace (Polybios xxi.30,9; Livius xxxviii.9,13; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.66). The influx of treasure and luxury objects was not always a result of looting. One of the most striking cases was the arrival in Roma in 132 BCE of the wealth that Roma had inherited from king Attalos III of Pergamon. The objects were sold at an auction which was attended by many people, an event that Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiii.148–49) believed coincided with the beginning of Asian *luxuria* and the consequent decay of morals (Paoletti, 2003: 1005).

According to Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxvii.12–14) the victory of Pompeius Magnus over Mitridates in 63 BCE "had introduced the fashion of pearls and precious stones, so the victories of Lucius Scipio and Gnaeus Manlius made engraved silverware fashionable, Attalid textiles and beds for *triclinia* adorned with bronze; and so did Lucius Mummius for Korinthian vases and paintings" (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.12). As we have noted with respect to Asinius Pollio, conquered treasures such as those owned by private individuals were put on public exhibit. On a greater scale, Iulius Caesar showed part of his collection in the Capitolium in special constructions which facilitated the viewing (Suetonius, *Iulius Caesar* 10). Caesar himself and later many others in the Imperial Era opened their gardens on the Tiber for the same purpose with increasing frequency (Audoly, 2008: 22).

The public exhibition of private collections combined with the collections in temples and other public spaces may have encouraged even less educated Romans to appreciate art and famous statuary, as shown in an incident reported by Plinius about the Emperor Tiberius who removed the famous *Apoxymenos* of Lysippos from the Baths of Agrippa to adorn his bedroom but was forced to return it because people protested even though he had replaced it with a copy (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.62). Plinius' *naturalis historia* and Cicero's *Verrine orations* and his *epistulae* are among the most famous and important sources for reconstructing the private collections of the late Roman Republican period. Cicero's *Verrine orations* in particular documents various persons of the cities of Sicily who, because of Verres' *cupiditas*, lost their private collections. These are described in detail by Cicero to make us understand the severity and degree of the Roman governor's fury for works of art. Cicero condemns Verres' collecting practice and would have us to believe that he was not an art expert in order to manipulate the outcome of the trial by contrasting two different ways of approaching life and art.

By the time of Verres' trial, Cicero and many other wealthy Romans were *amateurs* and had already put together rich private collections, a sign of the deep Hellenization of customs and society (Gualandi, 2001: 123; Paoletti, 2003: 999–1004; Bounia, 2004: 269–306; Miles, 2008: 105–151; Lazzeretti, chapter 8). During this period other figures besides Verres, Cicero and Atticus (Miles, 2008: 226–230) are mentioned for the luxury that characterized their lives and for the possession of large art collections. Some of the best known are Lucullus and Hortensius, the so-called *piscinarii* for their interest of breeding fish (Miles, 2008: 22–26). Hortensius had been Verres's defense lawyer in the trial and he had received a sculpture of a sphinx from him (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.48) and probably other works of art which Verres was accustomed to give to his friends and clientes. Lucullus owned several mansions and palaces, dabbled in architecture and the construction of gardens, and filled his houses with sculptures and paintings including copies of famous Greek paintings in Athenai (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.125).

Among the favourite places to display works of art were the villas of wealthy Romans. Villas favoured *otium* and, according to Plinius, also the concentration necessary to contemplate art. Sometimes environments were specially designed for the selected exhibition of works of art, as in Hortensius's villa in Tusculum where a temple was built to show a picture by Kydias of the Argonautai (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.130). The correspondence between Cicero and Atticus contains information about Cicero's own villa which emulated the architectural forms of a Greek *gymnasion* and was decorated with sculptures that Cicero had bought in Greece.

The Imperial Era reinforced and amplified all the elements that had already been emerging in the late Republican era in terms of both luxury and magnificence. Works of art not only arrived in Roma through the spoliation of war but also there was an intensification of the art trade. Most of these works were luxurious items made in Greece for the Roman market. There can be no doubt that the growing practice of collecting determined the development of this special kind of commerce. At the same time people began paying ever more attention to the placement of paintings and sculptures, leading to the consolidation of the concepts of symmetry and *pendant* statues (Bartman, 1988: 211–225). Romans sought works of art with illustrious pedigrees such as the *Apoxyomenos* of Lysippos and there is a growth in the production of copies of the most famous statues such as the group of the Niobidai (see Marvin, 1989: 29–45). More varied and exotic elements such as Egyptian style were also coveted, but

often in religious contexts. Within private residences ever greater importance was given to collections of images of famous people, philosophers and writers (already amply attested in the Hellenistic period for the decoration of libraries), to which were added, of course, the emperors. This kind of portrait collection was the result of the important role that images had acquired in the Augustan age (Zanker, 1989).

The great enthusiasm that characterizes the building, preservation and exhibition projects of the Augustan age – the construction of new patrician *domus*, *horti* and villas, the reconstruction/restoration of the oldest temples (Zanker, 1989: 113), the growing prominence and attention given to public collections which were assiduously recorded (see Liverani, chapter 6) – had a considerable influence on private collectors. The close connection between the emperor and some of the temples that he liked the most (including the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill next to his home and that of Mars Ultor in his new *forum*) must have influenced the type and arrangement of works of art in private collections. The collections of Augustus' house on the Palatine with its simple lines but luxurious and elegant wall decorations [fig. 0.1] were characterized by the simultaneous presence of works of art and natural objects (Zanker, 1989: 117). In this we should probably recognize the influence of Hellenistic collecting and the Mouseion of Alexandria. In general the Roman house from the age of Augustus onward had more luxurious interior decorations including illusionistic wall painting imitating architecture or gardens (as in the House of Livia on the Palatine Hill) or contemporary art galleries with fictive paintings and sculpture, discussed at greater length in the section on virtual collections (see also Ghedini Salvo, chapter 10; Jones, chapter 11).

Ancient Roma possessed real open-air museums in the form of the imperial gardens and gardens belonging to the great patrician families. Begun during the late Republic, the building of these gardens intensified at the beginning of the Augustan age. Throughout the Roman Empire, there is a great development and expansion of the *horti* which were large green areas originally agricultural in function, but then given over to new uses as places to display collections of ancient and recent statues according to refined programs. The Horti of Maecenas on the Esquiline which later became part of the imperial properties as well as the Horti Lamiani and Sallustiani were filled with sculptures. Numerous archaeological finds have demonstrated that these statues belonged to different styles and included original Greek Attic *stelai*, statues from Magna Graecia, and contemporary works and copies of famous works. The placement of such objects was also varied. Some were

housed in small shrines, others in arcades, and still others in grottoes, fountains and *nymphaeia* (Paolucci, 2007: 72–85; Tomei, 2007: 102–109; Liverani, 2007: 86–97). All had to respond to specific iconographic programs depending on the will of individual clients (the villa of the Papyri and Hadrianus' villa at Tivoli are fine examples). These large private gardens, or at least a part of them, were regularly open to the public. The collections of the *horti* were provided with constant maintenance and restoration carried out by specialized stonemasons and sculptors – not unlike in a modern museum.

After the Augustan period textual sources still remark upon the existence of private collections of those belonging to the imperial entourages and of lesser known figures. The fact that collectors and collections were invented in literature testifies to the size of the collecting phenomenon. Collecting became an activity of a large swath of the upper classes and it was included, for example, in the caricature portrait of the newly rich Trimalchio outlined in Petronius' *satyrica*. This imaginary character possessed statues, paintings, and precious objects, but given the coarseness and triviality of his intellect, these collections functioned merely as status symbols and were not born of a genuine artistic interest (Bounia, 2004: 250–255).

Nero appears to have been a voracious, greedy, and unscrupulous collector similar to Verres (as outlined by Cicero) who used every means possible for appropriating the works of art that interested him. He was part of a group of amateurs who used simply to take with them any statue that they liked, if we are to believe Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiv.48). Plinius also associates the Emperor, who was attached to his sculpture of an Amazon made by the sculptor Strongylion, to other characters such as Hortensius, who never separated from the sculpture of a sphinx given to him by Verres, and Gaius Cestius who owned a statue which he even brought with him in battle (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.48). Nero had to have been extremely interested in the collection of Greek works of art – even more so than Augustus – but these works were not exhibited in public places. Like Verres, Nero did not hesitate to take works of art he wanted from public places and sanctuaries, as in the example of a large number of bronze statues removed from the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphoi (Miles, 2008: 256). The monumental spaces of the Domus Aurea were filled with a vast number of works of art. As we have seen Vespasianus, who succeeded Nero and probably did not approve his excessive private luxury, returned many Greek sculptures to the public by placing them in the Temple of Peace (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.84).

During the Flavian dynasty described so well by Plinius, the habit of collecting was fully established and the criticisms of excess luxury that had characterized earlier Roman society had largely ceased (though the reader will recall Seneca's invective [Seneca, *ad Lucilium* lxxxvi.1–8]). Collections and collectors became common themes favoured by poets (Bounia, 2004: 221–243) such as Martialis and Papinus Statius who, like Petronius, give us further insight into the world of private collectors. In his *Silvae*, Statius devotes a section to the *ekphrasis* of a bronze statue of *Herakles epitrapezios* attributed to Lysippos (Statius, *silvae* iv.6) which belonged to the connoisseur Novius Vindex. The verses praise the work of art, famous for its authenticity and its biography – the statue once belonged to Alexandros the Great, Hannibal and Sulla (Miles, 2008: 265; Bonadeo, 2010) – demonstrating that the heroic provenance of objects was intimately bound up with their value in private as well as public collections (see also Mastrorosa, chapter 9). The excellence of the statue reflected on the figure of the collector who, though less famous than the previous owners, nevertheless demonstrated his culture and his refinement since he of all the statue's previous owners is best able to recognize the greatness of the masterpiece as well as the different styles of art. The Hercules owned by Novius was evidently a sculpture that was known and appreciated among the intellectuals during the Flavian era because it was also celebrated in two epigrams by the poet Martialis (*epigrammata* ix.43–44), although he wondered whether its illustrious lineage was not invented to please the wealthy collector (Bounia, 2004: 227).

The poetic compositions of Martialis are another useful source for understanding the environment of the collectors of his time. From his compositions (as well as those of Petronius) we not only deduce that the works of art of famous Greek artists were held in great esteem as they had been in the Republican era, but also that collecting practices were so widespread that collectors' desires to possess works were ripe subjects for irony and caricature. Martialis' epigrams on the mostly Greek works of art collected by the possibly fictional Charinus (*epigrammata* iv.39), for example, offer a nice example of collecting as a "narcissistic projection" – that is as an expression of one's prestige which is reflected in the value of the objects collected (Bounia, 2004: 229).

Hadrianus' villa at Tivoli is essentially an enormous synthesis of Roman artistic and collecting tastes as these had developed from Pergamon through the era of empire. Through the reconstruction of famous places in Greece and Egypt and the inclusion of over a hundred sculptures,

some original and some copies of famous works, it spectacularly expresses the Roman assimilation of Hellenistic civilization (McDonald & Pinto: 1995; Neudecker, chapter 12). After Hadrianus private collections continued but generally on a smaller scale and with smaller objects (see Stirling, chapter 13).

Virtual or Represented Collections

Both public and private collections were represented virtually in texts and images. Texts are especially useful in aiding modern scholars to appreciate the emotional and aesthetic responses people experienced when viewing objects. Visual representations provide evidence for display practice, especially when supported by archaeological evidence. Both sources must be used with great caution since the goals of the writer, artist and/or patron were varied and are often unknown to us today and accuracy in a modern scholarly sense was irrelevant.

Two texts already discussed, the Lindian Chronicle and Plinius' *naturalis historia*, may be regarded as examples of virtual collections, even though they both refer to real objects. Neither are useful for display practice but both give us an idea of objects once collected, even though the Lindian Chronicle is a history of selected lost objects, many of which could never have been viewed together because they were in the treasury at different times, and Plinius' descriptions privilege Greek objects in Imperial Roma. Both texts are also non-neutral containers not only for their virtual collections but also for the real objects to which they refer. Furthermore – and this is important for all textual collections – both texts affect the public nature of the collection by making it available in a new way. The antiquarian project of the Lindian Chronicle fortifies community memory through its wealth of long-buried references, creating a new votive collection with its own public character, while the publication of Plinius' book transformed Roma into a great imperial collection of art and natural resources that was more publically accessible due to his descriptions and classifications. Even private collections may become public in a limited way by means of published descriptions.

Virtual collections stem from the tradition of *ekphrasis* or vivid description in poetry and rhetoric. The description of objects and works of art is a sub-category of *ekphrasis* whose history is at least as old as the Homeric Shield of Akhilleus (*Ilias* xviii.478–608), though the first independent *ekphrasises* were Hellenistic epigrams which were sometimes written in series to describe collections.

Running parallel to these poetic descriptions and the fashioning of art collections is the development of art historical writing (Tanner, 2006). The earliest extant series of poems describing a collection are 12 epigrams in the *anthologia palatina* by Nossis of Lokroi that have been studied by Evelyne Prioux (2008: 156–58). They describe the votive offerings dedicated to Aphrodite in her temple, including the portraits of six devotees. Nossis provides a window into how this temple collection might have been regarded in relation to the cult statue, allowing the reader to imagine the interior of the sanctuary. Prioux further hypothesises that Nossis influenced both the scholarly Poseidippos and the gossip Herondas and continued to influence Roman writers, an inference validated by Nossis' portrait's inclusion in the Porticus Pompeii Magni (Prioux, 2008: 158).

Poseidippos, who worked in the Alexandrine court, is close in date to Nossis and advances a more erudite approach to his epigrammatic catalogues of gems, natural resources and art that would later be echoed by Plinius. His descriptive terms for different period styles such as 'majesty' for classic art and 'finesse' for Hellenistic art demonstrate an acute awareness of the stylistic variation manifested in the collections about which he wrote. The epigrams can be combined with archaeological evidence from both the Hellenistic and Roman periods and art critical literature to illustrate a taste for comparison – particularly evident in discussions of statues of the same figures executed in different styles or with different iconographies (Prioux, 2008: 159–252; see also Stewart, 2005: 183–205 and Sens, 2005: 206–228) and support what we have previously said about how attention to display nourishes the careful viewing required in art historical and comparative analysis. Embedded within Poseidippos' ekphrastic epigram collections, is a concept of Greek cultural heritage requiring classification, analysis and preservation, not unlike the manuscripts of the roughly contemporary Mousaion – Library that was the largest and most elaborate of its kind in the ancient world. Since these texts were probably known and imitated in Augustan Roma (Prioux, chapter 5), it is not surprising that this period in Roman history embraces a particularly developed sense of the preservation, display and upkeep of cultural heritage and enacted bureaucratic and exhibitory advances that would remain through Late Antiquity.

Scholars are divided as to whether a series of Martialis' epigrams (xiv.170–81) about works of art refer to a real collection displayed in the Temple of Divus Augustus which he calls the Templum Novum (Lehmann, 1939: 259–269; Prioux, 2008: 253–340). Only one picture representing

Hyakinthos by Nikias may be (relatively) securely associated with the temple, since Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.131) mentions it as having been dedicated by Tiberius. Besides disguised political themes, most striking about Martial's virtual collection is the implication of paired or pendant works (actual or fictive), a practice which has been confirmed by archaeological evidence (Bartman, 1988: 211–225), implies attention to display, and relates to Poseidippos' earlier object comparisons which may have been among Martial's poetic models.

Martial's poems were intended for an in-crowd of patrician intellectuals who knew Roman collections well and would appreciate his witty references. Similarly, the many epigrams by Khristodoros in the *anthologia palatina* referring to statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos appear to be addressed to readers who know the statues. In this case, several of the statues match with archaeological finds so it is likely that Khristodoros is describing the real collection (Bassett, 1996: 491–506; Bassett, 2004: 160–185). As a poet he is interested in the inner psychological state of the figures represented by the statues rather than the statues' physical form so in a sense his poetic series offers the reader a collection and *percorso* of moods and feelings, presumably those one might experience during a visit to the baths.

There are also quite a few prose texts that describe ancient collections, beginning with the aforementioned Herondas' fourth of the *mimiambi* about two women who visit a shrine of Asklepios and chatter about the votive objects they are privileged to see in the context of making their own offering. Unlike Nossis' epigram collection, Herondas' text is a narrative from which we learn that sacrifices provided a sought-after occasion for viewing great works of art by known masters. While it would be a mistake to confuse the protagonists with the modern gallery visitors that they appear to mimic, Herondas' text speaks to the role of aesthetics and limited entitlement rooted within sacred accumulations and prefigures the motivations behind the more sophisticated display spaces of later Hellenistic and Roman temples.

Several centuries later in Petronius' *satyricon* (83–89), which the reader will remember, also offered the caricature of the mock-connoisseur, Trimalchio, a passage describing a *pinacoteca* belonging to a Southern Italian temple offers a representation of a virtual collection conditioned by the particular emotional state of the protagonist/narrator (Elsner, 2007: 177–199). Bounia (2004: 261) interprets the text as a satire on the possible edificatory potential of public galleries implied by Agrippa's 28 BCE speech on public art and Augustan reforms. The original votive significance of the *pinakes* remains unacknowl-

edged in Petronius' text and there is little sense of this visit partaking of a religious pilgrimage, though the temple setting would demand such implications. Petronius' gallery embarks the reader upon a passionate and interior voyage that ultimately defines a unified experience, if not what we would recognize as a spiritual one.

On the other end of the edificatory spectrum is Philostratos' dialogue set in a private patrician villa in Southern Italy. In this case, the fictive gallery exists to educate the young, as the author explicitly states in his introductory section (*eikones* i.pref.). One of the protagonists is the son of the villa owner who is only a boy and who learns from the narrator important life messages through the medium of narrative paintings. Many prose texts exist by Akhilleus Tatios, Kallistratos, Loukianos Samosateus and others that describe domestic collections within the context of larger narratives and each typically uses a form of serial *ekphrasis* to pause the narrative and offer the reader a mental space for the contemplation of ideas and themes. The difference between such serial *ekphrasis* and a developed *ekphrasis* of a single object such as the Shield of Akhilleus (*Ilias* xviii.478–608) or Dido's temple murals in Vergilius' *Aeneid* (i.456–93) lies primarily in the reader's sense of a complex interior or exterior setting which animates the collected objects, giving them a contextual meaning. The later recovery of these texts along with the *anthologia planudiana* ensured that such virtual collections would pass into and ultimately influence both the virtual and the physical collections of the Early Modern period.

Picture and sculpture galleries represented on domestic walls did not enjoy the same glorious afterlife, even though they must have been more numerous than the literary collections. Sometimes these collections included epigrams or other literary fragments, tightening the link between anthologies of epigrams and collections of works of art (Prioux, 2008). An extraordinary case of the latter is the *exhedra* of the so-called House of Meleagros in Pompeii of the late Republican period which displays Greek epigrams painted on represented *pinakes* in a unified scheme that also includes stories about poets and fictive statues. The fictive objects are placed in vignettes in relationship to each other in a balanced and symmetric arrangement. Since some statue collections included epigrammatic inscriptions on their bases, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that an installation similar to that of the House of Meleagros could have existed.

Roman fresco painters delighted in playing with different levels of reality. *Trompe l'oeil* architecture and vistas were often decorated with fictive statues, framed paintings, and gardens. So-called Third Style wall painting



FIGURE 0.1 Column shrine with urn and ornamenta, *House of Augustus*, 1st c. BCE, Roma (BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI ROMA).

reduced architectural membering to thin frames surrounding coloured fields and representations of pictures. Jones has shown in chapter 11 that these fictive panels were imitations of real classes of objects that had been used in votive contexts – of which there were various sorts each with its own characteristic form – supporting the notion that the virtual galleries enhance our understanding of the display of real collections.

We know from Plinius that in addition to the traditional painted or relief *pinakes* dedicated in temples, valuable old pictures were preserved by cutting them out of walls and giving them frames, presumably so that they could be hung in the manner that fictive pictures appear to be (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.155; see Rutledge, 2012: 297). Fictive pictures represented on the main zones of Third Style walls are usually surrounded by blank or non-complex fields, perhaps indicating that such pictures were meant to be viewed without surrounding distractions, an approach that accords with Plinius' comments that works of art require a clear mind and a quiet environment for proper contemplation (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.27). Overall these virtual displays invited the viewer to compare different themes, period styles, and picture typologies which might be found in the same room (see Ghedini-Salvo, chapter 10 and Jones, chapter 11). Both the setting with space for contemplation and the invita-

tion to comparison presuppose sophisticated viewers accustomed to the optimal viewing conditions for works of art increasingly available in the later Roman Republic and Empire.

The subject matter of fictive pictures could be sacred or mundane and either might have been viewed through a mist of longing for a waning Greek intellectual and religious culture, seen also in material collections (see Neudecker, chapter 12). Some new iconographies were developed including what modern scholars have termed sacro-idyllic landscapes. Typical of Third Style wall decoration but also used in the wider fields of Second Style, these latter centred upon sacred trees, columns and rustic shrines within impressionistic landscapes sometimes populated by pastoral types and religious pilgrims. Appended to these religious structures we find shields, bows and other votive offerings, possibly implying nostalgia for the simplicity and rusticity of the earliest documented religious accumulations in the West [fig. 0.1].

Conclusion

Studying the collecting and display habits of the ancient world enhances our understanding of ancient religions, private and public spaces, aristocratic and popular tastes,

words and their relationships to objects, community and national identities as well as enriching our appreciation of the biographies of the individual objects that once belonged to such collections. Furthermore, within the broader context of museum studies, the investigation of ancient archetypes provides a fundamental background against which to analyse more modern practices and ideologies, both in terms of continuities and of ruptures, recoveries and reinterpretations.

In this brief overview we have attempted to highlight how each display context embraced its own particular dynamic with respect to the relationship between the architectural container, the socio-cultural frame, and the collection therein contained. Objects dedicated in temples and treasuries, for example, acquired collective community and even political meaning by means of their sanctuary contexts, while their mythic or historic provenances contributed to that collective meaning. Objects in votive buildings dedicated by individuals retained a special dialogue with the individual dedicator, who in the case of an emperor such as Vespasianus, had aspirations to create a microcosm of the known world as a metaphor and symbol of empire. Objects in patrician homes represented their owners' attitudes and aspirations. In most cases the collections of antiquity – whether accumulated or carefully selected – were eclectic and that eclecticism of style, material, place of origin and provenance grew into a measure of value. Eventually the eclecticism of Roman collections was transposed into the artistic *varietas* of Early Christianity, still not fully decipherable to modern scholars.

The increasing importance of public display over the course of the Hellenistic Empires and Roman Republic and Empire led to the overall improvement of viewing spaces in terms of object crowding and light and eventually to the creation of dedicated viewing platforms both in public and more private contexts – these in turn permitted the visitor to devote greater attention to the intensive inspection of individual objects necessary for art history, art criticism and any sort of proto-museum culture. By the time of Agrippa works may have been selected specifically for public edification, an important development in the history of collections and their display that would receive a true afterlife in the age of Napoleon.

The phenomenon of private collecting in the ancient world was much more extensive and diverse than is docu-

mented today, in part because the collection of objects to which special value (or a set of different values) is assigned is determined by individual preferences which are difficult to know for remote periods and also change over time. Although our knowledge is limited, what emerges for periods as well documented as those of the Hellenistic kingdoms and Roma is enough to allow us to recognize how the collecting of the modern periods cannot be explained if not by recourse to the ancient world in which we find most of its roots. Above all, one constant in the practice of collecting from antiquity to the modern age is an interest in the past that collectors tried to conserve and revitalize through objects, artistic or otherwise. With feelings that today we would call nostalgic, the ancient collectors took possession of values that would be used to build and to connote their cultural and social identities.

Finally, as we have seen, archaeological and textual documentation about real collections – both public and private – is further supported by evidence from represented collections which in some cases purport to describe real objects. Textual descriptions and poetic garlands not only may have changed the public-private dynamic by making any real collections described more accessible in their own times, but also helped transmit knowledge of ancient collections to later periods. Images of *pinacothecae* and other collections, on the other hand, often supply details regarding viewers' attitudes, interior room layout, or modes of picture installation unavailable from other sources. Together these virtual collections enhance our capacity to interpret the material and immaterial cultural contexts surrounding accumulations of objects of different kinds.

It is only by uniting a variety of textual and archaeological sources about both real and fictive collections that we are able to build an increasingly solid base of museological scholarship, and it is for this reason that the scholars who have been invited to contribute to this volume specialize in disciplines ranging from classical philology and ancient literature, to art and architectural history, to history, cultural studies and museum studies. While we expect their specific contributions to fortify our knowledge base of ancient museum archetypes and collecting paradigms, it is also hoped that the questions raised by the juxtaposition of their varied contributions will seed further scholarship in both classical and post-classical studies.

Towards the Museum: Perceiving the Art of “Others” in the Ancient Near East

Massimiliano Franci

Introduction

When contemporary societies imagine the development of the act of collecting and the idea of the museum, they usually go back to the period of the Roman Empire, while finding the first modern examples of collecting only within the spirit of the Renaissance. Nevertheless before reaching a clear idea of the museum and about collecting, cultures must go through a number of transformations or passages that unexpectedly find their cradle in the ancient Near East. This hypothesis could surprise because in ancient Near Eastern cultures it is not easy to find clear evidence of a particular taste to collect artefacts.

The main reasons for this neglect are two. First of all, it is normal to link the idea of collecting with the Western world. Secondly, in the ancient Near East the meaning of “Other” is usually related to the idea of the “enemy”, the bearer of chaos. In ancient societies this negative figure is acceptable, from both social and cultural point of view, only if it can be put into the stereotyped category of those subdued. The “Other” doesn’t produce anything that is worthy of interest. This is a common mechanism of defence inside any cultural community.

The concept of cultural identity is an important one. Only through establishing our own identities and learning about the identities of other individuals and groups do we come to know what makes us similar to some people and different from others, and therefore to be able to establish social connections with them. Identifying ourselves as the bearers of a set of common values that the members of a social group perceived as something unique – lifestyle, law, custom, art, religion – also communicates the decision of the group to exclude everything which belongs to a different tradition. In fact, cultural memory preserves the bulk of knowledge from which a social group derives its awareness of unity and peculiarity; through a kind of indemnificatory determination in a positive (“we are this”) or in a negative (“they are this”) sense. Identity, back then, like language, was not just a description of cultural belonging, it was a sort of collective treasure of local communities. Moreover, identity was discovered to be something fragile that needed protecting and preserving, since

it could be lost. For these reasons it seemed impossible to consider important the culture of others.

The conditions to evaluate in a positive way the artefacts and the cultures of others were developed in the ancient Near East. This important mental process took place over 5000 years of history and through different phases. At the beginning the artefacts of Others were believed to be elements of chaos. Later, they were considered of economic value as war’s booty, a “prestigious” gift in diplomacy, an exotic object, and finally a cultural element of a different culture that could be appreciated.

A good and peculiar example is the request of the Pharaoh Pepi II to Harkhuf (2278–2184 BCE), governor of Elephantine, for a particular gift: a Pygmy. The pharaoh wrote a letter that Harkhuf later incorporated into his funerary autobiography:

You have said...that you have brought a Pygmy of the god’s dances from the land of the horizon-dwellers... Come north to the Royal Palace at once! Hurry and bring with you this Pygmy whom you brought from the land of the horizon-dwellers live, hail and healthy, for the dances of the god, to gladden the heart, to delight the heart of King Neferkare who lives forever! When he goes down with you into the ship, get worthy men to be around him on deck, least he fall into the water! When he lies down at night, get worthy men to lie around him in his tent. Inspect him ten times at night! My majesty desires to see this Pygmy more than the gifts of the mine-land and of Punt! When you arrive at the residence and this Pygmy is with you, live hale and healthy, my majesty will do great things for you (Lichtheim, 1975: 23–27).

A very prestigious gift!

Thus in the Near East was born the idea of “collecting and museum archetypes”: *ex oriente lux*: the seeds of this wonderful intuition were widely disseminated in the world. In this chapter I will be addressing two questions: (a) is it possible to describe an evolution of the significance and taste in collecting what is produced in the ancient Near East? And, (b) what is the contribution of

the ancient Near East in the development of the culture of collecting?

Towards the Collecting Idea: The Contribution of Ancient Near Eastern Culture

In ancient Near Eastern documents we can find the first indication about collecting, specifically in the Old Testament: Adam and Noah can be considered the first collectors. Adam gave a name to all the creatures of God, classifying them according to their nature; defining collecting as *classification*. It is an important point of view because it is clear that the classification preludes any type of collection. Noah saves his family and the animals, saving in this way all Creation (*Genesis* vi.19–20), translating the idea of collecting into *preservation*. Noah makes further classifications in the so-called Table of Nations (*Genesis* x–xi). Starting from its descent, he geographically describes and catalogues languages and peoples in such a peculiar way that this type of genealogy is still used as a basis in modern Afro-Asiatic linguistics. Both Adam and Noah represent the extreme boundaries of the collecting idea and the Collectors image: *classifying* to gain knowledge of the world and build our own culture; *preserving* to save our own culture (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994: 1; Thomason, 2005: 8).

Before the Old Testament documentation, something similar had happened in a different but not so distant civilization. In ancient Egypt in the second half of the second millennium BCE the scribe Amenope wrote the first encyclopaedia of history, the so called *onomastikon*. He made an account of the ‘Everything’ in the same way that Adam did, giving names to the things belonging to the sky, water, earth, gods, spirits, kings, officials, people and groups of people including foreigners and foreign lands, age groups, list of towns of Upper and Lower Egypt, buildings and their parts, and types of land, agricultural land, grain, parts of animals and kinds of meat. A long word list but also a linguistic and pictorial representation of the whole Egyptian universe, made for a precise purpose: “instructing the ignorant, to know all that exists”, defining the act of collecting as *education*.

This kind of list was previously used in Egypt at the end of the third millennium BCE when the scribes wrote long geographical lists with the place names of all of the known world (Franci, 2002: 409–410): Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Nubia, Libya, Mediterranean islands. The first examples of this list were the so called Execration texts. They were written on statuettes, bowls, or blocks of stone, and then broken. In this way, using sympathetic

magic, the Pharaoh exerted the same magical power on the kingdom or the princes named in the text, a rudimentary way of collecting (or grouping) to exercise his own control over the outer world. In these examples the act of collecting was used to organize and control (Baudrillard, 1994: 9). Moreover when a culture enters into a period of decadence and *deculturation* because the country is under the control of a foreign society, it attempts to maintain its identity and cultural memory with a kind of institutional antiquarianism: the active rebuilding and restoration of religious landmarks, the recovery of earlier art pieces and religious documents, and saving all this information inside the perimeter of the temple and covering all the surfaces of the walls with any useful data (myths, calendars, instructions, and so on) under an obsessive impulse to recreate the whole universe. Nevertheless in this way ancient knowledge was left in the hand of a restricted social class: the priests who cut the rest of the population out of its own culture, essentially decreeing the death of the Egyptian civilization (Franci, forthcoming 2014). Therefore the Egyptian priests – in a particular moment of great menace like Noah – decided to save their culture within the temples. They used it as a book, with innumerable lists of elements and information about their culture. This kind of collection is the unique stronghold against the loss of their civilization, as collecting writing is a storage system where everything can endure and be preserved (Assman, 2006: 99).

The Art of “Others”: From a Symbol of Chaos to a Collector’s Item

Regarding the art of the others as something of value was the most important mental passage made in the past because every ancient civilization considered the culture of the Others as a chaotic element in the process of constructing its own identity – distinguishing between “us” and “them” (Assman, 1998: 3). The production of the Others is well accepted in inner economical trade and war booty is the first and common way to learn about foreign products. The direct knowledge of foreign production brings particular attention to the quality and peculiarities of some of these products: i.e. Syrian or Cretan silver vessels, or myrrh, ivory, ebony, and exotic animal skins from Africa. Paradigmatic are some Near Eastern examples: (a) the Statue of Puzur-Ishtar viceroy of Mari (end of the III millennium BCE) discovered at Babylon where it had been brought as war booty by the King Hammurabi (1790 BCE) after the destruction of Mari; (b) the Code of Hammurabi, a well-preserved Babylonian law code, dating

back to about 1772 BCE; originally placed at Sippar, it was brought in Susa where it had been plundered by the Elamite King Shutruk-Nahhunte in the 12th century BCE; (c) the golden and silvery doors of Ashur, capital of the Assyrian kingdom; during the sack of the city the Hurrians took it away into their capital Washukkanni. Hurrians were the unifiers of Northern Mesopotamia into a single large kingdom called Mitanni.

The circulation of diplomatic gifts also increases the knowledge of foreign production. The kings used foreign products for their prestige, as status symbols (Baudrillard, 1994: 8): a particular use that enhanced the status of the foreign object in the country. The prestige commodities belonged just to the tribal chief or king, the one and only that could possess such objects, reinforcing in this way his authority. Some artefacts discovered in modern Syria are good examples of this idea. At Ebla, a Syrian kingdom of the III millennium BCE, were discovered Egyptian objects with pharaonic cartouches, belonging to the XIII Dynasty. Clearly they were prestigious gifts coming from a more prestigious and friendly kingdom, so important to be buried as grave goods with the local kings, divesting the Egyptian objects from their original religious value: this is a well-known process in the collecting *modus operandi*.

The example of the Egyptian scarabs can be linked to the same mentality. Archaeological findings show that scarabs are the usual Egyptian gift but also that we are in front of the birth of an exotic taste for Egyptian products, of which the scarabs are still a classic element. Even the Hyksos pharaohs used the Egyptian style scarabs as gifts: some scarabs with the name of the Hyksos Pharaoh Khayan, were found in various places – from Nubia to Palestine and Baghdad as well as in fragments of stone vessels at Knossos and Khattusa. Around 1800 BCE in Palestine there was a growing use of Egyptian scarabs, but they were the result of a local production and decoration. At Babylon in the 6th century BCE the Egyptian magical statues were so particularly appreciated that later they were imitated in the same Babylonian shops. The taste for exotic objects usually arises with respect to a remote geographical location in contraposition to its original culture. These products are defined *wonderful things* (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994: 5), an expression that underlines their exotic nature and rarity. They have particular uses. They were utilized in worship, in a type of hoarding, in the redistribution of commodities by the royal administration, or to finance the construction of monuments. These different kinds of uses increase the prestige of the exotic object in the country and strengthen the authority of the tribal chief or the king (Liverani, 2001: 222–228).

The interest in the art of other was also stimulated by trade. By the 3rd millennium BCE many different forms and ornamental motifs of one civilization had found their way into the vocabulary of another civilization. Well known is the Egyptian influence in Syria and Palestine (Liverani, 1988: 573, 695). The kings of Byblos wrote their names in hieroglyphics and used the Egyptian title *haty-aa* "ruler". They regularly received gifts from the Pharaoh in exchange for the access to the forests in Lebanon. At Ugarit the artisans developed a special taste for the Egyptian style (the well known ivories of Ugarit with many Egyptian symbols like the "Goddess Hathor Head", the Ankh sign, etc.) but on the other hand they influenced and exported their icons. An important example of this is the use of the chariot and horses by the triumphant Pharaoh. Represented in Egypt for the first time during the kingdom of Ahmose at the beginning of the XVIII dynasty (1570 BCE), it replaced the old motifs of the winning warrior. In this double way an exotic taste and appreciation for products and styles so different from the Egyptian culture penetrate in the Egyptian society itself.

The Syrian kingdom of Ugarit had an important relationship even with the kingdoms of Mesopotamia. In the Late Bronze period respect for literary and religious documents belonging to other cultures are attested for the first time. In the scribal school, the most important cultural centre of the royal palace, different languages were used, not only the Ugaritic one. In the archive was found a considerable number of educational and literary tools both in the royal and in private archives. Mythological Babylonian texts like Gilgamesh, or the "Story of the flood" penetrated into the Syro-Palestinian culture, but also the Cassite text like "the righteous sufferer". There are several bilingual dictionaries (Sumerian-Akkadian, Hurrian-Canaanite), and documents in all languages at the time: Hieroglyphic Hittite alongside cuneiform Hittite, Egyptian Hieroglyph, Cypro-Minoan, Akkadian, Sumerian, Hurrian, and of course in Ugaritic. The use and knowledge of other graphic systems seems to have stimulated Ugaritic scribes inspiring for the first time in history the development of a new and more practical writing system: an alphabetic writing for the Ugaritic language.

With the Phoenicians and their trade in the Mediterranean, the so-called "Orientalizing fashion" spreads over a wide area, which also involved the Greeks, the Phoenicians' competitor *par excellence*. The new style includes decorated metal *paterae*, carved ivories, textiles, and especially their figurative patrimony of heroes, fantastic animals, and landscape elements. These elements later become the iconographic heritage of Cypriot,

Anatolian, Aigaian artisans in such an integrated way that it is extremely difficult to distinguish the original from its imitation. Once again the diffusion of those elements involves the hinterland of Mesopotamia: an ulterior evidence of the taste and appreciation by the Assyrian population itself.

Gardens, Libraries and Museums: To Preserve or to Control?

As a celebratory expedient the neo-Assyrian kings used the inflow of resources from the periphery to the central core of the Empire also from a ceremonial and symbolic point of view. A typical example is the concentration of exotic animals and plants into parks. Here the kings tried to recreate exotic landscapes populated with animals from all over the world, both for royal hunts and for universal control – a significant number of samples collected and kept in prison as the centre of the Empire. This was the same idea at the basis of the courtyard before the Temples of the Queen Pharaoh Hatshepsut (1479–1457 BCE) and of her nephew the Pharaoh Thutmose III (1457–1424 BCE) at Deir al Bahari in Egypt: many different kinds of trees, belonging not only to the Egyptian environment, taken to Egypt and planted in the sacral area of the temple. It appears quite clear that in this case we have the symbolic idea of collecting to exercise control all over the world and to demonstrate that the power of the king went beyond the borders of the country. Thutmose III created a similar place in the Akh-menu, the Festival Hall of Thutmose III. In the temple area of Karnak the decoration of the inner wall presents a considerable collection of rare species of animals and plants he discovered during his campaigns against the Asians (Laboury, 2007: 23–34).

Nebukadnezzar's Palace at Babylon: Spoils of Wars or An Antiquarium?

At Babylon Nebukadnezzar tried to recreate and represent all the elements of the world, according to the ideology of unification by acceptance of differences. This led to recover the old monuments of the ancient kings, or concentrate them in collections, along with the libraries with ancient religious and literary texts. The North Palace (Hauptburg) was built by Nebuchadnezzar later in his reign. Here archaeologists found numerous objects from various sites and different cultures. First this fact suggested

that this place could have been some kind of museum "Schlossmuseum" (Unger, 1931; Moortgat-Correns, 1989: 274) but this idea is now highly doubted (Klengel-Brandt, 1990: 41–46). Anyway, among these objects were an unfinished lion statue, the sandstone stele of Assurbanipal commemorating his rebuilding of the Esagila in Babylon, a basalt stele of a Hittite weather god, the 8th-century limestone stele of Shamash-resha-usur governor of Sushi and Mari, fragments from the Ur III dynasty period, and two diorite statues of Puzur-Ishtar. The main difference with the usual vision of war booty or tribute is that all the citizens of Babylon could see these artefacts, where the spoils of wars were usually put in the process of redistribution (Liverani, 1988: 899–905).

Libraries

The so-called Library of Ashurbanipal (668–629 BCE) is well-known. He was a peculiar Assyrian prince educated as a scribe and priest in *Bit riduti*, able to read Sumerian and Akkadian texts, perform multiplication and division, process and interpret omens (Moortgat-Correns, 1989: 225). In his palace at Nineveh he ordered the collection of all the known literary and religious texts – especially those from Babylon – and the building of a library on the example of the previous archive-libraries, i.e. the archives of Ebla or El Amarna, or the library of Tiglath-pileser I (a collection of laws for practical purposes, normative), for quantity and quality (Liverani, 1988: 808). If on the one hand other cultures appear to be respected, on the other under Ashurbanipal we assist in a kind of a *deculturation*: his military campaigns find their climax in the destruction of palaces and agricultural cultures, in the dispersion of the ruling class of the conquered countries and the deportation of its population, and in the abolition of any non-Assyrian cultural activity. The 'Others' have strange customs and speak incomprehensible languages: it is doubtful that they were considered fully human (Liverani, 1988: 826, 831).

But if there are some reasonable doubts in the interpretations of the Library of Ashurbanipal two other examples show that in the Near East was born the idea of the library, in particular that of the private type. It is well known that the so called library of Khenerkopeshef (1260 BCE) at Deir el Medina – Egypt – contained historical books, poems, magical texts, including one of the first dream books with the interpretation of various dreams. In Babylon we have a similar case: a library of 2000 tablets belonging to 5 generations of the same family (Egibi's family) from 606 to

482 BCE. Other private libraries are well attested in the Mesopotamia area (Spar & Dassow, 2001).

These examples show how a fertile cradle was created, in which the seeds of the Hellenistic minds sprouted wonderful flowers. In Egypt (a) Manethon – historian and priest of the sun god Ra at Heliopolis, who lived during the reigns of Ptolemaios I Soter (323–283 BCE) and Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (285–246 BCE) – wrote the *Aigyptiaka* or “History of Egypt”, a chronological description of the ancient Egyptian history from the mythological age to the Greek Period (in Iosepos, *peri arkhaiotetos Ioudaion logos* i, Sextos Ioulios Aphrikanos, *khronographiai* F46, Eusebios, *praeparatio evangelica* [euangelike proparaskeue] ix.13 and others; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 609). In the 2nd century BCE (b) was written the *Septuagint*, a Greek version of the Hebrew Bible. In Mesopotamia (c) Berossos, a Babylonian Baal priest, published the *Babyloniaka*, “The Babylonian History” (today known from fragments in Iosepos, *peri arkhaiotetos Ioudaion logos* i, Eusebios, *pantodape historia* i (*khronikoi kanones*) .1–2 and other texts; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 680; Müller, 1841–70: ii.495), dedicated to the Seleucid King Antiokhos I Soter (281–261 BCE). It described the Babylonian creation and many more Mesopotamian myths. Written with a different consideration of others’ culture, all these books were then preserved, collected and consulted in the Library of Alexandria.

Becoming the Object of Collection

With the Persian conquest and then the Greek and Roman after, the Near East lost its centrality in the world. Its cultures and its languages disappeared, and its populations

became citizens of low level under foreign empires. The new universal religions contributed to delete the memory of a great past. Only the esoteric and magical aspects of these ancient cultures survived in the darkest side of the Western mind (alchemy, freemasonry, etc.) until their rediscovery in modern times. So the artifacts of these civilizations, as well as the same civilizations, became object of collection (consider the obelisks’ second life during the Roman Empire and in the Roma of the Popes). Not only are artifacts collected but also the Near Eastern religions and their symbols. Only in this way we can explain the great quantity of Egyptian symbols disseminated all over the world starting from the beginning of the Roman Empire, as well as the great mummy race from the Renaissance to the 19th century CE, a prestigious and exotic but even pharmacological element housed in the so-called *Wunderkammern*.

Conclusion: The Ancient Near Eastern Legacy

In conclusion what is the contribution of the ancient Near Eastern cultures to the idea of collecting? First of all, a positive evaluation of the works of art of the others’ cultures. Secondly, the idea of collecting as an exercise to control the world and as a symbol of prestige and status. Thirdly, the important mental shift from “utilization” to “owning” objects as well as to divest the object of any original and practical function, giving it a social status as an object to be collected. Fourthly, the first documentation of exoticism, the first attestation of private collecting in a world where superficial analysis links this idea only to kings. Finally, two quite modern cultural visions: the ideas of collecting to preserve and acknowledge one’s own culture but also the cultures of others.

Greek Temple Treasures and the Invention of Collecting

Josephine Shaya

The sanctuary of Athena at Lindos is the third most visited tourist site in Greece (Papadopoulos, 1997: 100; *Agence France-Presse*, April 12, 2010). Its setting is spectacular; situated on a cliff, it crowns the Akropolis and looks out over a deep blue grotto and the Mediterranean Sea. Its ruins are also arresting. A series of Hellenistic terraces and stairways lead dramatically to the ancient temple. Their modern restoration, initiated under the Italian occupation, has made Lindos one of the most sensational archaeological sites in the world (Laurenzi, 1938a; Laurenzi, 1938b; Papadimitriou, 1988: 169–170). But this reconstruction of sweeping terraces, steps, columns, and walls presents only an empty shell of a once living sanctuary [fig. 2.1].

In antiquity, the temple's contents were much more precious than the architectural pieces that we admire today. Home to Athena Lindia, the temple was filled with signs of her divinity: her cult statue, ritual equipment and treasures dedicated by Lindians and foreigners alike. These treasures grew in number every year by a process of accretion. New votive offerings, new treasures, new ornaments added to the wealth of the goddess. This process had a

long history; the wealth of Athena testified to hundreds of years of ritual interactions. Indeed, by the Hellenistic period, the Lindians were bemoaning the many treasures that had been lost over time. A remarkable inscription dated to 99 BCE commemorated Athena's lost treasures, many of which were likely to have been destroyed in a fire that took place in 391/2 BCE (*ILindos* 2 C.30–31). Just as the *stele* sought to reconstruct the most renowned contents of the temple, we can benefit from our own reconstructions.

The empty shell at Lindos and the inscription of lost treasures lead to a set of questions: What did Greek temples contain? How were their contents understood? What were the practices surrounding the care of votive offerings? A second set of questions follows: How did these understandings and practices change over time?

A full reckoning of these questions is beyond the scope of this short essay, but we may make an initial effort at answering them by turning our attention to Greek temple treasures and their ancient documentary evidence. Part of the difficulty that we have in studying temple treasures is reconstructing them. Certainly countless individual



FIGURE 2.1 Temple of Athena Lindia, *Lindos*, *Rhodes* (PHOTO: J. SHAYA).

offerings survive, but not the treasures massed on temple walls, on shelves and covering cult statues nor the rituals of which they were a part. My aim in this paper is figuratively to fill the temple by examining the recording of treasures in inventories, the display of the objects, and their representation in antiquarian catalogues and texts. I examine the sources for Greek sacred collections, the meanings of these collections, and the evolution of ways in which they were viewed and understood in the Hellenistic period.

Greek temples were sites of collection. Temple treasures framed the divine. They played a dynamic role in the construction of religious experience, helping to generate sacred environments that were essential to the ritual experience of the gods. More to the point, the treasures themselves were produced through ritual acts of devotion. Stashed in the temple, the objects were displayed in the gods' rites. While the history of temple treasures runs deep, perceptions of treasures were neither timeless nor uniform. New cultures of viewing developed in the Hellenistic period, characterized by intellectualized and antiquarian ways of seeing ancient gifts to the gods, by the conscious selection of particular objects to tell a story or witness an event, and by the cataloguing and displaying of collected objects: in brief, the invention of collecting.

Ritual Record-Keeping and Sacred Collections

Sacred collections have a deep history in the ancient Greek world. They were fundamental to rituals that dramatized and affirmed the power of the gods. Temple inventories, or inscribed records of sacred offerings, are among our best sources for these collections. They offer insight into the management of sacred collections. These documents, far from being simple catalogues of temple holdings, were religious texts displayed in sanctuaries on monumental stone *stelai*. The inventories, which were themselves gifts to the gods, were part of the rituals of exchange and interaction between devotees and deities.

Let me offer a brief and general overview of these inscriptions, with the *caveat* that, as with almost all types of inscriptions, one finds wide variety within the genre (for an introduction to inventories: Linders, 1975; Linders, 1988; Aleshire, 1989; Linders, 1992; Harris, 1995; Hamilton, 2000; Dignas, 2002; Brosius, 2003; Cleland, 2005). The earliest inventories are lists from Athenian temples that date to the latter half of the 5th century BCE (*IG* i³ 292–362). The practice of inscribing lists of temple treasures on stone seems to have been originally Athenian and to have arisen out of a democratic concern for accountability and openness (Harris, 1994: 214–15; Thomas, 1996: 45).

Many surviving inventories are connected with Athenai or places where Athenai held power; they frequently began with a copy of the decree that showed the machinery of democracy at work (e.g. *IG* ii² 1534 A.1–5).

The regular (as opposed to occasional) inscription of annual inventories seems to have occurred at just a few sanctuaries, most notably those in Athenai, Delos, and Didyma. There are, however, many examples of single inventories, especially from Asia Minor, Attike, Boiotia and the Kyklades that mainly date to the Hellenistic period (e.g. Ilion: *Ilion* 151; Imbros: *IG* xii 8 51; Mylasa: Maiuri, 1921–1922: nos. 3–4; Halikarnassos: Şahin, 1976: no. 4; Samos: *IG* xii 6 1.261; the Rhodian Peraea: Fraser & Bean, 1954: no. 11a; Perge: *IPerge* 11: 99.2; Attike: *IG* ii² 839; Aigina: *IG* iv 39 and *IG* i³ 1456; Tanagra: *SEG* 43: 212 B; Thebai: *IG* vii 2420–2425; Thespiai: *IThesp* 38; Plataiai: Richardson, 1891; Oropos *IG* vii 303; Paros: *IG* xii 5 1.134). A few examples are found from the Roman period (e.g.: inventory from Cirta: *CIL* viii 6981; from Thebai: *IG* vii 2425a).

The inscriptions most often recorded precious dedications – objects made of gold, silver, jewellery, gemstones, coins – but some also included nails, wood, textiles, baskets, even meat hooks and anvils. They were typically organized by type of objects, by material, or topographically, that is, by location in the temple. Despite the great length of many, they were spare on detail about individual objects, most often simply listing dedications, weights and donors. The great bulk of the gifts were modest and most of the donors are otherwise unknown.

The particular form and content of inventories depended on their specific purpose. A *paradosis*, or “handing over,” was the most typical procedure. This type of inventory registered the change of responsibility for the god's treasures, when it was passed from the care of an outgoing priest or board of treasurers to an incoming one. An *exetasmós*, or “special inventory,” was drawn up when a problem arose in the administration of the treasure and objects needed to be identified. A *kathairesis*, or “removal,” recorded the withdrawal of items from the treasure, usually to be melted down and recast into new cult equipment (Aleshire, 1989: 104–108). Such “removals” were particularly characteristic of sanctuaries of healing gods, where there were many small donations.

While recognizing these broad categories, scholars puzzle over how exactly inventories worked, with what interests they were constructed, who consulted them and why. Oversight of the administration of the treasure was surely the main purpose of most. A mid-4th-century Delian inventory began by declaring that the items were handed over by weight and number from one group of officials to another by the authority of the Council of the

Delians and the priests (*IDélos* vii 104.1–7). Yet, despite the painstaking care that went into the making of the inventory that follows, the inscription does not seem very useful, or at least, not in ways that we might expect. The Delian inventories, especially, are mammoth. A 400 line list of offerings must have been hard to read; it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to look up a particular donation on the inscription. The Delian texts often have over one hundred letters per line and those letters are small – a height of 5 mm is not uncommon (Linders, 1992: 31–32). Breaks or divisions do not separate the entries. Sometimes changes occurred in the order of the offerings in inventories in sequential years that would have made it very hard to draw comparisons between them or between the inventories and the actual objects.

The selectivity of many inventories is also hard to explain. While at Delos the records for most offerings are repeated with little or no variation year after year, other groups of gifts appear in one year's tally, disappear in the next, only to return again in another inventory dated several years later. Adding to the difficulty is the fact that practices of recording were not always consistent. Again at Delos, no one method determined the order of procedure for long and several often operated at the same time (Linders, 1972: 53; Hamilton, 2000: 7–31). The picture is further complicated by the fact that literary sources record offerings in the temples that do not appear in their inventories (Linders, 1988: 39–40).

The Greek treasurers must have been content with what appears to our eyes at times a messy and even incoherent way of going about business. Indeed, the very work involved in reading and using these inscriptions as accounts together with their monumental display should give us pause. What was the purpose of the inventories? As Tullia Linders and others have argued, what the text said was not the whole point. In addition to being registers of the gods' possessions, inventories were also symbols of the workings of the administration of the temple, of the transfer of responsibility for the treasures from one group of officials to the next, of duties honestly fulfilled, of the careful stewardship of the gods' possessions, and of seemingly countless acts of devotion (Linders, 1987; Linders, 1988: 37–47; Linders, 1992: 31; Harris, 1994: 213–25; Dignas, 2002: 234–44). By recording and displaying the names and deeds of those who piously kept the books, the inscriptions publically exhibited the reverence of religious officials and communities.

Inventories, then, were records, but also much more. Much like the offerings that they recorded, they were part of the symbolic exchange between devotees and the gods. The making of an inventory was a complex, time-

consuming process that one suspects had its own ritual elements. Scales of some sort must have been set up, the objects removed from their places, weighed, examined, the names of donors read, missing parts identified, in some cases objects culled and others returned. An inventory of Hera's ornaments from Samos was made before a special sitting of the Council in the Heraion (*IG* xii 6 1.261.9); an audience witnessed the goddess' bookkeeping. While many inventories began with decrees, others invoked the gods, beginning "To the Hero Doctor" (*IG* ii² 839), "Gods. Athena. Fortune" (*IG* i² 280), "With Good Fortune" (*IDélos* iii 1450) or most commonly, "Gods" (*IG* ii² 1539; *IG* ii² 1388; *IDélos* ii 442 B). After completing an inventory, the names of the dedicants, offerings and the weights of gifts were inscribed on stone at considerable expense and set up in the sanctuary (*IG* ii² 1543 B.18).

These inscriptions surely played a central role in keeping track of the gods' wealth, but they were more symbolically a ritual type of accounting. The acts of documenting temple treasures, inscribing them on stone, and publically displaying the inscriptions in sanctuaries were part of the cultivation of divine beneficence. While revealing much about the extent and material value of treasures, inventories also speak to their deep symbolism. A 2nd-century BCE inventory of jewellery and textiles dedicated to Artemis from Miletos, includes garments that were "old," "frayed," "useless," "without value," "used," "bare," "torn," and "in tatters" (Günther, 1988). Despite their dilapidated state, each of Artemis' possessions was minutely catalogued for they were gifts to the goddess and thus attested her power. Likewise, in the late 3rd century BCE, a special commission at Oropos, in the very North of Attike, oversaw the making of an inventory of offerings slated to be melted down and recast into new cult equipment. The inventory carefully recorded the dilapidated gifts, their donors, and the cities from which they came, publically preserving the memory of the rites of worship embodied in the gifts (*IG* vii 303).

Collections and the Making of Ritual Environments

But what about the treasures themselves? Surrounding and adorning cult statues and furnishing the gods' rituals, these collections of gifts framed the divine. Much of their collective value lay in the role they played in generating sacred environments essential to the experience of the gods. As Sara Aleshire has shown, the topographical organization of some inventories offers insight into their display (Aleshire, 1991: 41–46). A fragmentary inventory of

the Athenian Asklepieion, dated not long before 275 BCE, for instance, recorded gold crowns, bowls, silver reliefs of body parts, coins, jewellery, medical instruments, and braces, among other things, on the temple's walls, ridge beam, and rafters (*IG* ii² 1534 A; Aleshire, 1989: 177–248; Aleshire, 1991: 41–46). Making a large circuit of the temple, the inventory began by registering the dedications on the West wall, against which the cult statue stood, opposite the temple entrance. From there it moved up to dedications on the rafters which it numbered one through five, first recording offerings on the rafters to the right as one entered the temple, then those on the ridge beam, and finally those on the left (*IG* ii² 1534 A.60–72). A typical passage reads: “At the fourth rafter (on the left): Carnelian set in gold which [Nik]arete dedicated. Body on a relief and an eye, uninscribed; the eye was weighed: weight 5 1/2 obols. Bowl decorated with “eggs” which Glykera dedicated.” (*IG* ii² 1534 A.68–69; Aleshire, 1991: 199).

The inventory then listed the dedications arranged in four rows against the cella walls, again first to the right, then to the left, and then those on the wall where the entrance was located (*IG* ii² 1534 A.72–116). The many offerings, most of which were relief tablets, some placed in rectangular boxes or frames, covered all but the upper portion of the walls where, Pausanias reported there were paintings (Pausanias i.21.7). According to the inventory, over eighty objects hung on the right wall alone. After completing the circuit of the *naos*, the inventory went on to describe many small, precious items, such as an acorn-shaped seal-stone placed on the hand of the cult statue (*IG* ii² 1534 A.125–127).

Inventories provide information on how treasures were kept. Leather bags, for instance, stored coins and other precious items; the inventories of the Parthenon registered one such bag that was closed with the public seal and contained articles in silver and bronze, overlaid wood, gilt, and silver overlay (*IG* ii² 1445.22–24). Many of the Athenian inventories recorded storage boxes and baskets, many of which were decorated with silver or gold leaf and held small valuable items like ivory figurines and alabaster ornaments (e.g. *IG* ii² 1425.87–90; *IG* ii² 1414.25). Inventories from Brauron recorded multiple garments draped around the cult statue (e.g. *IG* ii² 1514.27–28).

Scores of votive offerings (and inscribed records of them) generated a heightened sense of the power of the god. The treasures of the late 5th-century Parthenon were vast. The *pronaos* held 118 silver bowls, three silver drinking horns, ten silver cups, two silver lamps, a gold bowl, a gold wreath, a silver *kylix*, and a silver drinking-cup (Harris, 1995: 77). The other rooms of the building were also packed. Grilles, doors, and locks secured treasures,

and made them – and, more to the point, the god that they surrounded – all the more marvellous when revealed to human eyes (for doors of the Opisthodomos of the old Parthenon: *IG* ii² 1471.60; for gold foil from a nail to the door: *IG* ii² 1424 A.46–47; for the key: *IG* ii² 1424 A.386–7. For an unplundered *adyton* containing some 1,500 objects: Mazarakis Ainian, 2005: 87).

Taken together, the offerings set the stage for and were the equipment used in rituals. The Parthenon frieze shows Athenians carrying Athena's treasures – water pitchers, bowls, flutes, lyres, incense burners, thrones and folding stools – to celebrate the goddess (Lapatin, 2005) [fig. 2.2]. The Panathenaic procession itself concluded with the offering of a new *peplos* to Athena. In Euripides' *Ion*, Ion, the custodian of Apollon's gold at Delphoi, adorned a marvellous tent made for a feast in honour of Apollon with tapestries selected from the god's treasure (for examples of the types of precious offerings that survive, see Strong, 1966; Richter, 1966; Boardman, 1970; Oliver, 1977; Vickers and Gill, 1994; Williams & Ogden, 1994).

While not normally on display, at certain times, visitors could enter temples. In the beginning of the *Ion*, the chorus admired the sculptures outside of the temple. Desiring to see more, they asked if they might pass the temple gate barefooted. Ion answered it was not right to do so, explaining that to approach the steps, one must burn meal, honey and oil and to enter the temple one must sacrifice a sheep. The chorus accepted his answer without surprise; ritual acts were to be performed in approaching a god (*Ion* 185–235). Gift giving and sacrifice – the ritual acts embodied in the treasure – were the pathway to the divine: one made a sacrifice to enter the temple; within the temple one saw gifts that witnessed countless other exchanges with the divinity.

What kind of collections were these? They were produced through ritual veneration and closely associated with the blessings of the gods. The objects of the temple were sacred possessions. Displayed in rituals, such as processions, or during festival days when they were temporally unveiled to the public, or even during the taking of inventories, the offerings urged viewers to look on with devotional eyes (Elsner, 2007, 1–26).

This was a type of collection that encouraged venerable gazing; the collection reminded visitors that gifts and prayers could cause their wishes to be granted. In the Greek world, the history of such collections runs deep; in the *Iliad*, Hekabe laid a fine *peplos* on the knees of the cult statue of Athena in hopes that the goddess would grant her prayer and restrain Diomedes (vi.287–311). Gifts were a means of access to the gods as countless gifts affirmed. This, then, was a kind of collection that was very much



FIGURE 2.2 Parthenon frieze, *British Museum, London* (SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY).

part of the rituals of worship – a collection produced through devotion that encouraged devotion.

From Collections to a Culture of Collecting

Ways of viewing the gods' possessions were not timeless, however. The Hellenistic period witnessed the rise in local antiquarianism and the development of cultures of collecting under the hegemony of Hellenistic kings and Roma. Here we see new intellectualized approaches to temple treasures. Select temple treasures simultaneously existed as ritual treasures and objects of aesthetic and antiquarian contemplation. The two ways of viewing were by no means mutually exclusive; rather antiquarianism was part of the service of the divine.

The Lindian Chronicle – created by two local historians in 99 BCE – is a key source for this development [fig. 2.3]. Indeed, the chronicle sheds light on temple treasures both as pathways to the divine and as subjects of antiquarian research. It is an example of a type of collecting

which simultaneously valued religious devotion and antiquarianism.

The inscription documented a lost collection of offerings of great antiquity and illustrious provenance – a silver drinking cup from Minos, bracelets from Helene of Ilion, a great *krater* from the people of Gela, weapons from Alexandros III the Great, and many more – as well as miracles of the goddess Athena Lindia (Blinkenberg, 1912; *ILindos* 2; Chaniotis, 1988: 52–57; Boffo, 1988; Wiemer, 2001: 27–32; Higbie, 2003; Shaya, 2005; Platt, 2010: 208–212; Platt, 2011: 124–69). Like many of the temple inventories considered above, it is a monumental inscription, roughly 8 feet high and 3 feet wide. A civic decree running along the top explained its creation: since the most ancient and honourable Temple of Athena Lindia had been adorned from antiquity with numerous gifts on account of the epiphany of the goddess, and since many of these offerings had been destroyed over time, it was decided to draw up a record of the gifts together with references from documents that attested to them (*ILindos* 2 A.9–10).



FIGURE 2.3 Lindian temple chronicle, *København* (COURTESY THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK INV. 7125).

Drawing on the form of an inventory, the two local historians who drafted the bulk of the inscription – Tharsagoras and Timakhidas – then presented a chronological list of Athena’s most remarkable worshippers and their gifts to the goddess. They reconstructed an extraordinary treasure. They named at least thirty-seven offerings that spanned a vast chronology, from the eponymous hero Lindos (dating to the epoch before the Trojan War) to King Philippos v of Makedonia (c. 200 BCE). They began every entry with the name of the devotee followed by an identification and brief description of his or her gifts, including their material and the inscriptions upon them. They concluded each entry with a bibliography of sorts, a list of references to literary works, letters, and temple archives that in turn mentioned the gift.

For instance, they wrote that Menelaos had dedicated a helmet “upon which had been written, ‘Menelaos the helmet of Alexandros,’ as Xenagoras reports in the first

book of his *khronographia* (Jacoby, 1923/*Brill’s New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 240 F 5), Hegesias in his *Rhodos enkomios*, Eudemos in his *Lindiaka*, Gorgon in the first book of his *peri Rhodou*, Gorgosthenes in his letter, (and) Hieroboulos in his letter. And Theotimos says in the first book of his *kata Ailourou* that Menelaos also dedicated a dagger” (*ILindos* 2 B.10).

They followed the list of offerings with narrative accounts of four epiphanies of the goddess, concluding each with its own list of attestations. The one completely extant miracle story ended with the Persian commander Datis, terrified by Athena’s miracles, sending gifts to the goddess. The story suggests that the other offerings were similarly inspired. It also points to a probable cause of the destruction of most of the offerings: a great fire burned the old temple and consumed its treasures (*ILindos* 2 D.30–31). Thus, the treasure, as reconstructed by Tharsagoras and Timakhidas, attested the fame of Athena, the long history of her temple, and her supernatural acts and appearances. It was composed of gifts that told a heroic story of Lindos.

The inscription sprang from two traditions of sacred epigraphy. For the catalogue of offerings, Tharsagoras and Timakhidas looked to the form of a temple inventory, while for the epiphanies they looked to inscribed miracle stories. But while they drew on familiar, sacred epigraphic genres, they also employed the language and methods of Hellenistic scholarship. Much of their work lay in the compilation of sources and in the recording of who mentioned what and where: they cited twenty-four different sources one hundred and fifteen times. They spent more lines detailing who wrote about the helmet of Alexandros than describing the helmet itself. Their observations on the material of the offerings, their makers, their age, style, and inscriptions also displayed their antiquarian knowledge.

Tharsagoras and Timakhidas did not lose sight of the religious significance of the treasure in the midst of their scholarship, however. Their ultimate aim in putting together this collection was to glorify the goddess Athena, who was the pivot on which the whole collection turned. The treasure was, after all, hers; the *stele* was set up in her sanctuary; the votive offerings had been given to her: “Telephos, to Athena . . .,” “Phalaris from Akragas to Lindian Athena . . .,” “The people of the Rhodians to Athena Lindia . . .” (*ILindos* 2 B.8, C.27, C.37). Simply to enter the sanctuary where one could read the text, one had to be ritually clean and barefoot or wearing white shoes (*ILindos* 487.8). The most revealing feature of the Lindian treasure is its connection with the epiphany stories that follow. Tharsagoras and Timakhidas’ miracle

stories explained the offerings, which, as the decree states, had been given “on account of the epiphany of the goddess” (*ILindos* 2 A).

Tharsagoras and Timakhidas reconstructed a lost temple treasure. Above all, they wanted to make Athena’s lost treasure known, for it filled the temple with stories of her fame and miraculous powers. There might have been little ancient to see in the Temple of Athena at the beginning of the 1st century BCE, but the *stele* made the building and its present-day contents resonate with echoes of what had once been.

What kind of a collecting was this? This was a form of collecting that was linked to the miraculous. At the same time, it was one that was firmly rooted in the practices of Hellenistic scholarship, one that pulled together, described and documented a deliberate selection of lost objects. It was one that recognized the cultural, historical, and artistic value of the lost treasures to the Lindians and to audiences that extended even beyond the shores of Rhodes. It was one that first and foremost honoured the divine. Like the collections examined above, it existed under the logic of divine veneration.

But the Lindos *stele* testifies to something more, to a distinct cultural practice of collecting. It presented a deliberate selection of objects as an integral grouping in order to convey a story. It is here that we find a new type of collecting, a type embedded not only in a deep religiosity but also in antiquarianism, in educated viewing practices, in ideas of what we would call cultural patrimony, and in the symbolic act of collecting.

The Invention of Collecting in the Hellenistic World

The *stele*’s authors were not alone in their concerns and methods. Recent research on the invention of art history in antiquity has explored new intellectualized approaches to art in the Hellenistic period. As Jeremy Tanner observes, the theft and purchase of renowned statues and paintings from Greek temples by Hellenistic kings and Romans gave rise to writings on art and the creation of new ways of exhibiting and viewing it (Tanner, 2006: 220). The Hellenistic age witnessed the construction of “art” as an autonomous sphere of meaning in such practices as the rise of royal collecting, the development of connoisseurship, the beginnings of the history of art, learned tourism, the writing of guidebooks, and the creation of new viewing contexts including “art galleries” within sanctuaries. The Lindos *stele*, with its air of erudite

study and principles of inclusion based on the historical and artistic value of objects, fits comfortably within this context.

Likewise, starting in the Hellenistic period, we see a rise of Greek local histories inscribed on stone in which antiquarianism played a key role in the articulation of the sacred – in the lives of heroes and poets, in stories of miraculous cures and divine epiphanies and in histories of the founding of cities and the beginning of cults (Chaniotis, 1988; Boffo, 1988; Wiemer, 2001; Dillery, 2005). Quotations from previous scholarship, sayings of the ancients, and original documents like votive offerings, oracles, and poems all appeared in these inscriptions. The authors, like Tharsagoras and Timakhidas, were well-educated, scholarly men, many of whom held important places in the political and religious lives of their cities (Chaniotis, 1988: 124–131). Their works marked local historical sites of religious and antiquarian interest.

By at least the 3rd century BCE many literary works also treated the kind of material that the Lindos *stele* and other inscriptions preserved. For instance, as titles and fragments reveal, a body of travel literature arose, the aim of which was, in part, to describe notable votive offerings and the histories of sanctuaries. The best known today is the 2nd-century CE work of Pausanias, whose project was one of pointing to works “worth seeing” while synthesizing, interpreting and amplifying local historical and religious traditions like those at Lindos, although he himself covered only parts of mainland Greece. Such guidebooks began to be produced in the Hellenistic age. Tantalizing titles and fragments survive, including Polemon’s (c. 230–160 BCE) *peri ton anathematon ton en Athenesin akropolei* (in Strabon ix.1.16), *peri ton in Delphois thesauron* (in Ploutarkhos, *symposiaka problemata* v.675b), and *peri ton en Lakedaimoni anathematon* (in Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* xiii.574c) (see Jacoby, 1923/*Brill’s New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 3 B.189).

Classical Greek writers were certainly interested in the history of votive offerings. Herodotos’ description of Kroisos’ gifts at Delphoi is a famous example (i.50–51). As Tharsagoras and Timakhidas report, Herodotos also described the linen cuirass of Amasis at Lindos, attesting that each string had three hundred and sixty threads (*ILindos* 2 C 31; Herodotos ii.182; iii.47). But it is in the Hellenistic period – a time when the phenomenon of collecting came powerfully into its own – that we see an increase in the public celebration of temple treasures.

While temple treasures continued to prompt ritual ways of viewing, they also increasingly attracted scholarly attention, antiquarian notice, and even what

we might call a touristic gaze. I will simply point to a few examples.

Moments when temples were opened and treasures could be viewed were eagerly anticipated and must have come with the thrill of penetrating the privacy of the sacred. Pausanias knew (e.g. viii.31,8; ix.25,3; x.35,7) the days when temples could be visited, some only once a year. In Herondas' fourth mime (iv.23–34), two women and their slaves came to the Temple of Asklepios to thank the god for curing an illness, but they also admired the sculptures in his sanctuary and read the names not only of donors but also of famous artists inscribed on bases. The offerings had both a devotional aura and an aesthetic one. One of the women, Kynno, complained of the jostling of the crowd as they waited for the temple door to open and the curtain to be unfastened (iv.54–56). Once inside, they continued their tour of the god's possessions. Kynno examined a painting by Apelles, exclaiming that the painter's hands were so truthful that anyone that looked at his work without being justly astonished should be hung by the foot in the fuller's shop (iv.75–79).

A fragmentary 2nd-century BCE (c. 170–135) inventory, possibly from the Athenian Asklepieion, records works of stone sculpture – a *kentauros*, the Kouretes, Komodia (and possibly her companion Tragodia), Asklepios, Hermes, Hygieia, Artemis, the Mousai and Hermaphroditos – and the names of their famous makers: Hermokles, Khares, Eukheir and Timarkhides, sculptors all known from literary sources (*SEG*: 26: 139; Clay, 1977; Ma, 2009). Again, in recording statues and artists, the inventory valorised the images as artistic masterpieces.

Another monumental inventory from Didyma celebrated the ancient gift of a king. At least a dozen inventories were grouped on a six-foot high freestanding white marble pillar with the most conspicuous recording a great donation of King Seleukos I and his son Antiokhos from 288/7 BCE. This inscription included a royal letter enjoining the people of Miletos to deposit the king's offerings in the temple and use them in libations. A list of gold vessels drawn up by Seleukos himself follows (*IDidyma* 424). One hundred years after Seleukos made the offering, the treasurers at Didyma inscribed the letter and offering list on the marble pillar and surrounded it with yearly temple inventories (*IDidyma* 462 [181/2 BCE], 463 [178/7 BCE], 465 [176/5 BCE], 470 [164/3 BCE], 471 [161/0 BCE], 424–25, 466 [170/0 BCE], 467–69 [167/6–165/4 BCE]). By the time they created this display, the sanctuary had probably lost the king's gifts; Galatians raided the sanctuary in the 270s and a subsequent inventory recorded two offerings as “having been left from the war” (*IDidyma* 260; Günther, 1988: 218; Dignas, 2002: 238). While the Seleukos inscription did

not have the scholarly apparatus of the Lindos *stèle* nor the epiphanies, it did reconstitute what seems to be a lost treasure. It quoted a historical document; it celebrated a renowned donor; and it presented a collection as an integral grouping. Like the Lindians, the treasurers at Didyma seem to have aimed figuratively to fill the temple with memories of what had once been.

Beyond Hellenistic Collecting

In revisiting the familiar territory of ancient Greek temples, I have tried to illustrate some of the practices and beliefs surrounding their treasures. I have tried to “fill up” the temple and show how these objects played a key role in the representation of relationships between gods and devotees. Inventories and the collections they recorded were part of the symbolic exchange between gods and worshippers.

We have seen the novelty of the Lindos *stèle*. I have suggested that it stands for the very invention of collecting in the Hellenistic world. Tharsagoras and Timakhidas deliberately collected objects and attestations to them in order to tell a story about Athena and her sanctuary. They drew upon earlier inventories, but recast them in a new light. This inscription did not arise out of the processes of accretion through which sacred collections formed; rather it came from the very act of collecting.

It also helped make the temple into a tourist site. Plinius (*naturalis historia* xix.2, xix.11–13) related that in the second half of the 1st century CE, Gaius Licinius Mucianus, Vespasianus' right hand man, went to the sanctuary of Athena, inspected the cuirass of Amasis in person and confirmed that each apparent thread of its fabric consisted of 365 separate threads. Only small remnants survived, he wrote, due to the damage done by the many persons examining its threads. The cuirass had been listed among the lost treasures in 99 BCE, but it must have been “rediscovered” sometime after and placed again in the temple for visitors to admire.

I have argued that the *stèle* and its collection marked an important innovation in the history of collecting. The effects and after-effects have been long lasting. Like the cuirass of Amasis, other lost Lindian offerings reappeared over time and were reappropriated in new contexts. An emerald green statue of Athena Lindia sent by Amasis to Lindos made its way to the collection of Lausos in Constantinopolis (Mango, Vickers & Francis, 1992). And the Lindos *stèle* itself stands today in a Greek antiquities gallery in the National Museum of Denmark [fig. 2.4].



FIGURE 2.4 Lindian temple chronicle, *National Museum of Denmark, København* (PHOTO: J. LUND).

Hellenistic collecting played a key role in creating aesthetic viewing practices, in the invention of art history, in the appropriation of cultural patrimony, and in the creation of ideas of a universal artistic heritage. It is here that we find important links between collecting in antiquity and our own museums.

Collecting the Past, Creating the Future: Art Displays in the Hellenistic Mediterranean

Margaret M. Miles

Acquisitiveness and a feeling of satisfaction from a collection, together with awareness of its larger social and political potential seem to be human characteristics, and royalty of earlier eras in Egypt and the Near East gathered together impressive art collections (Franci, chapter 1). In the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world, the 3rd century BCE marks the beginning of art collecting in a form we readily recognize as an inspiration for many subsequent generations. Both temporary and permanent displays of artistic objects in Alexandria and Pergamon established for their owners a connection with the cultural accomplishments of the past and present, and allowed the relative newcomers to claim a pedigreed “aura” by association with prestigious art. Typically these displays were carried out under the sanction of respecting gods in sanctuaries, where collections were positioned in equally distinctive architectural settings. The most spectacular ancient displays achieved a fame and reputation magnified through literary accounts, and this enduring, creative legacy helped shape later collecting in the Renaissance and early modern period. The new ideas for deliberate, planned collections and displays of art were supported by social and economic circumstances that had a long gestation, and included a growing intellectual awareness of the history of the arts. This essay explores the early roots of Hellenistic collections and displays in private luxury, and some characteristic aesthetic features of the later displays, composed when the economic situation had shifted radically and financing for them was seemingly unlimited.

Private Luxury in the Greek West

I begin with economic considerations, as we find in the later uses of art echoes of much earlier consumption in private settings of the later 5th century BCE. The economic factors that supported luxury and consumption are essential to the discussion, since prestigious art in antiquity was expensive (statues, painting, gold and silver vessels, furniture, gems). The 4th century BCE is usually cited as the start of collecting, especially by collectors styled as royal, but evidence for antecedent private indulgence in luxury

begins earlier, in Sicily, Southern Italy, and in ancient Makedonia. Like Athenai, the larger cities in Sicilia had economies with several levels simultaneously: a rural, agricultural base; craft production in cities; and wider trade networks abroad that altogether could be termed “multimarket” (Migeotte, 2009: 173–178; Vlassopoulos, 2009: 12–23). Private luxury that became possible in these circumstances served as one initial model for later and larger-scale, royal indulgence; other obvious models were the centuries-old accumulations of dedications in sanctuaries, including votives of all sorts, and displays of donated or commissioned paintings, military trophies, and portraiture in public *agorai*.

Generally in the ancient Greek world of the Archaic and Classical periods, “art” was made to be dedicated in sanctuaries or other public places. It could be commissioned by a group or an individual, often with appropriate credit given in inscriptions, but ownership was transferred by gift to the deity of the sanctuary or to the city. An example of what must have seemed a spectacular private dedication in the late 5th century BCE was set up at Delos in 417 by the Athenian general Nikias: his wealth was based on slaveholding and the leasing of slaves for the silver mines at Laurion, and he commissioned and dedicated a life-size bronze palm tree to commemorate the *theoria* to Delos in which he took part. He also paid for an especially elaborate procession on that occasion. The bronze palm tree as a dedication is mentioned by Ploutarkhos, and the inscribed base for it exists on Delos (Ploutarkhos, *Nikias* 3; Bruneau & Ducat, 2005: 200) [fig. 3.1].

Status accrued by public display of the votive, whether the motive for the dedicator was spiritual, political, self-advertising, or some mixture. That dedication in public areas was generally the customary destination of art is corroborated by widespread excavations of public *agorai* and sanctuaries, and private houses. By the later 5th century, however, there is clear evidence that in some parts of the Greek world, increasing personal wealth was leading to change in social expectations about ownership of artistic items, and private ownership and private luxury were acceptable and expanding. This made the deliberate “collecting” of art in a private sphere feasible.



FIGURE 3.1 Base for Nikias' Palm Tree, *Delos* (PHOTO M.M. MILES).

Some sense of the clash in expectations about personal wealth between the Greek West and Athenai is given in Thoukydides' account (vi.46) of the Athenian ambassadors who were fooled by displays of gold and silver plate at Eryx and Segesta. In his well-known explanation for how the Segestans deceived the Athenians into believing they could pay the cost to support an army, the Segestans first show off impressively large (but mostly silver) accumulated offerings in the Temple of Aphrodite at Eryx, and then host the Athenian envoys and the ships' crew at banquets with elaborate gold and silver service that was then recycled at different homes each night. The vessels had been borrowed from all the neighbouring regions, both Phoenician and Greek. The bravado of the Segestans indicates they had a model for private consumption, and we need not look far: the description in Diodoros Sikeliotes (xiii.90,3) of the sack of Akragas (Agrigento) by Carthaginians a short time later in 406 BCE makes clear the extraordinary wealth of individual citizens, in what he says had been nearly the most wealthy Greek cities of the time.

Diodoros, writing in the 1st century BCE and himself a Sicilian, begins his account (xiii.81,4–84,5) of the battles and siege of Akragas with a lengthy discourse on the great prosperity of the city. Ironically, much of the city's wealth seems to have derived from entrepreneurial trade in wine and olive oil with Kart Hadasht (Carthage). Its public wealth then is still visible today, Diodoros says (and it still is), in the very large number of temples still extant, especially the great Temple of Zeus, which he then describes. Its construction had been carried out largely with Carthaginian slaves, captured in the earlier war of 479 BCE at Himera (xi.25,3). Besides the enormous temple, there was an artificial lake stocked with fish and waterfowl, supplied by an elaborate water conduit, also known today through excavation. Further proof of the city's magnificence could be seen in the numerous decorated funerary monuments outside the city. Diodoros recalls a memorable public procession in honour of an athlete victorious at Olympia, who was honoured with a parade of 300 chariots drawn by pairs of white horses supplied by

the Akragantines. The citizens' clothes were delicate and soft, they wore gold ornaments, and even used gold and silver *strigiles* and *lekythoi* (items for the gym).

Diodoros then moves beyond the collective wealth to illustrate the lifestyle of two Akragantines in particular: Tellias, renowned for his generous hospitality and enormous wine cellars, hosted 500 cavalry who arrived in a snowstorm; they were wined, dined and clothed. Antisthenes put on a wedding for his daughter that included dinner for everyone in the city, 800 chariots in another remarkable procession, and most spectacular of all, the use of light in the night time. He had provided firewood to everyone and all shopkeepers, and by a pre-arranged signal from the Akropolis, all altars were illuminated at once, in addition to numerous torches, so that the city was filled with light. To top off his description, Diodoros comments that when the city was under siege, they passed a law that the guards could only have one mattress, one cover, one sheepskin and two pillows: this was regarded as austerity. He notes furthermore (xiii.90,3) that the city had never been sacked since its founding (in 581 BCE) and was therefore extremely rich with art for the plunderers.

Diodoros emphasizes the house-to-house sack of the city and the gathering up of paintings and statuary of extraordinary value, from private houses as well as the *agora* and the many temples of Akragas. The Carthaginian commander Himilco sent the best to Kart Hadasht (Carthage), and sold the rest as booty. According to both Diodoros and Cicero, who saw them, a few treasured artistic items were returned to the city much later, after the sack of Kart Hadasht (Carthage) in 146 BCE by C. Scipio Aemilianus (Miles, 2008: 95–99).

Even allowing for some retrospective embroidery, Diodoros' account provides a plausible picture of private wealth in the last quarter of the 5th century BCE. We see typical expressions of high status in a classical Greek polis, but on a larger scale: the city builds the largest Doric temple ever; it has an artificial freshwater lake; it celebrates its athletic victors in great style. Individuals extend hospitality by providing meals, wine, cloaks, but someone could do so on a huge scale; a wedding procession is made so memorable it was recalled four hundred years later. Hence we should accept Diodoros' assertion that these same Akragantines also owned many paintings and had statuary in their houses, even though private expressions of wealth are better attested archaeologically in later periods. His themes, large or ornate buildings, deliberate manipulations of the landscape, extraordinary demonstrations of generosity, and fabulous processions would continue to be featured in

subsequent centuries as demonstrations of power and resourcefulness.

Acquiring Status in the Greek West

By the time of Platon's visit to Syrakousai in 380, Sicily (and Taras) had already acquired a reputation for luxurious living and sensual indulgence, including intense interest in food and its preparation, presumably in suitably elegant settings. He was in despair, Platon says in his Seventh Letter (*epistolai* 7), of finding a suitable royal young person to raise as a philosopher-king, since the luxurious atmosphere in the court of Dionysios I at Syrakousai had already spoiled the chances of getting through to the young heir. As a *tyrannos* who declared himself king, Dionysios I of Syrakousai understood the potential of fine arts for a ruler; he composed plays and entered them in festival competitions in Athenai (his *Ransom of Hektor* won the competition in the Lenaia of 267 BCE), and he attempted to make dedications of chryselephantine statues at Delphoi and Olympia, although they were plundered en route by Athenians (Diodoros Sikeliotes xvi.57,2–3). Given his ruthless actions elsewhere as he rose to power, his claim to the title *Basileus*, and his reputed use of court luxury to underscore his position, in many respects Dionysios I anticipated the trajectory of the later Hellenistic kings (Berve, 1967: 637–656; Caven, 1990). The Syracusan invitation to Platon to visit and tutor the young son also anticipated Philippos' invitation to Aristoteles to tutor Alexandros.

Platon's complaint about Sicilian interest in food probably had some firm basis, to judge by literary testimony: the first two prose cookbooks in Greek were written by Herakleides (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* v.58b) and by Mithaikos (Platon, *Gorgias* 518b), both of Syrakousai, in the last quarter of the 5th century, and the next, better preserved text by Arkhestratos of Gela (in Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* i.4e–5a), probably in the early to mid-4th century BCE (Olson & Sens, 2000: xx–xxi). Arkhestratos' *hedypatheia* (*life of pleasure*) is a long tract in poetic form with an extensive catalogue of fish and other foods, where to obtain them, and how to prepare them. His geographical range is extensive, including Greek-held Sicily and Southern Italy, Ambrakia, Athenai and Euboea, the Northern Aigaion, the Hellespont, Byzantion and the Black Sea: in effect, the centres of power and wealth in his own time, as well as the breeding areas of desirable fish. Preserved in quotations embedded in Athenaios' text, Arkhestratos' poem gives advice for avid gastronomic pursuits to be carried out much like the collecting of art:

savouring the fine, the unique and the rare, with careful attention to locality and the ambition of comprehensiveness. Because he apparently travelled extensively himself, it seems likely that Arkhestratos was personally wealthy. Both his interest in “collecting” fish by the experience of acquisition, preparation and consumption, and his urbane knowledge of the Greek Mediterranean, all expressed in poetry, anticipate the mentality for collecting art in later generations.

Acquiring Status in Makedonia

In mainland Greece, the excavation of the Royal Necropolis at Aiani in South-Western (“Upper”) Makedonia, only about 87 km. East of Aigai (Vergina), has yielded not only evidence of considerable wealth, but also a taste for sculpture and imports from Southern Greece in finds that range from the Archaic period until city’s eclipse by Aigai in the mid-4th century BCE. The excavator has established beyond doubt that Aiani was the seat of the Elimiotie kingdom of Upper Makedonia, with continuous inhabitation from the Mykenaian period. In the necropolis at Aiani, the architectural forms of the royal burials provide clear antecedents of the better known Makedonian tombs further East (Karamitrou-Mentessidi, 2008: 46–67; 2011). They include large, stone-lined cist tombs with painted interiors that were tightly covered with rows of long stone slabs, and range in date from the Archaic period to the early 4th century BCE. Although the tombs were robbed in antiquity, some of them still showed evidence of funerary couches, and the remaining finds in and around the tombs include pieces of marble *korai* and *kouroi*, other marble sculpture, a variety of fine gold ornaments and jewellery, and remains of appliques of bone and ivory from funerary biers (Karamitrou-Mentessidi, 2008: 77–83; 2011: 100–106).

Inside and nearby Tomb A at Aiani, dated to the early 4th century BCE, were found Doric and Ionic architectural members from a *heroön* that was built over the tomb. Especially notable are the large cist tombs that are closely similar in structure to Tomb I (“Tomb of Persephone”) at Aigai, the likely tomb of Philippos II. The recent excavations have extended to a nearby hill, where remains of monumental buildings have been found. As excavations continue, more evidence of private and royal wealth in Upper Makedonia dating to the Archaic and Classical periods should come to light from both the funerary and domestic contexts. This site is a significant antecedent to Aigai, and provides context and continuity for the later emergence of Makedonian customs and use of wealth fur-

ther East in Lower Makedonia, when Philippos II unified the Macedonian regions.

Like Dionysios I of Syrakousai, Arkhelaos I of Makedonia (ruled 413–399 BCE) acted in ways that later became characteristic of Hellenistic dynasts: to start, he is said to have come to power by murdering an uncle, cousin and half-brother (Platon, *Gorgias* 471a–c). He then acquired support and legitimacy from the South by supplying Athenai with timber for ship-building after their failed invasion of Sicily. He proved to be a generous and benevolent ruler by improving the infrastructure in Makedonia, reorganizing the army, issuing coinage, and inviting to his court, likely at Pella, cultural stars such as Euripides and Agathon, the citharode Timotheus, and the painter Zeuxis of Ephesos (Borza, 1990: 161–179). He embellished Dion, the sanctuary of Zeus near Makedonia’s then Southern border on the shoulder of Mt. Olympos, and reorganized the festival *Olympia* to make it a highly desirable venue for the best athletes and musicians Greece could offer. Pella itself was certainly built up by him, on what seemed at the time a choice location on the sea, at the East-West and North-South crossroads of the Balkans (Akamantis, 2011: 394). Although the excavated remains that date to the 5th century BCE are scant at present, a part of the cemetery of the early capital has been uncovered, with very fine (imported) marble funerary sculpture. One tomb yielded an impressively large red-figured *hydria* imported from Athenai and with Athenian iconography, known as the Pella Hydria (Drougou, 2004; Lilibaki-Akamati et al., 2011: 40–53).

Arkhelaos I could not have known Pella would become landlocked within a fairly short time, its usefulness as a port city denied; its effective life extended even after the city was sacked by Romans after the battle of Pydna in 168 BCE, but it was then devastated by an earthquake in the 1st century BCE. While it flourished, many houses in Pella were decorated with figured pebbled mosaics, and painted interiors (Ginouvé, 1993: 117–136; Lilibaki-Akamati et al., 2011: 141–161) [fig. 3.2]. Excavations have revealed a large city on a grid-plan, with an enormous central *agora*, surrounded by shops and workshops (Akamatis, 2011). The palace, located above the city and likely built in its present form by Kassandros at the end of the 4th century, was also decorated with fine figured mosaics, interior courtyards and many dining rooms (Nielsen, 1999: 81–99). Arkhelaos’ achievements at Pella deepened the cultural integration with Southern Greece and provided the springboard for subsequent Argead expansion. They also demonstrated the significance of art patronage for royalty.

The modest private houses at Olynthos are a further example of the early development of artistic consump-



FIGURE 3.2 House of Dionysos, Pella (PHOTO M.M. MILES).

tion, where the *andrones* were decorated with pebble mosaics, but no sympotic equipment was found, indicating that it must have been of bronze or even other metals, and either taken by fleeing residents when the city was captured by Philippos II or scavenged by his troops in 348 BCE (Cahill, 2002: 45–49, 187–190). Significantly, these modest houses, built to a fairly standard pattern, did feature decorated *andrones* and for them people owned distinctive sympotic equipment, even in a fairly small town in the Khalkidike. Local wealth in the Khalkidike came from its advantageous situation for agriculture and trade, but also the many copper mines in the region, and Olynthos served as the sometime head of the Khalkidian League before its destruction. Philippos II's further expansion into Thrake, blocked only briefly by Olynthos, was motivated in part by the gold mines of Mt. Pangaion, which then funded much of his administration and carried on to fund Alexandros' initial expedition into Asia Minor.

The same phenomenon of well-appointed private houses may be seen in 4th-century Epeiros, such as at

the sites of Horraon and Kassope, where the houses (destroyed by the Romans after Pydna) are very well preserved (Hoepfner & Schwander, 1994: 114–179; Hoepfner, 1999: 384–411) [fig. 3.3]. Both communities are laid out in grid plans, in spectacular settings that provided strategic advantage and were located on passes and cross-routes through the mountains. The private houses are remarkable for their uniform standard and high level of amenities. We should consider also the developments in the second quarter of the 4th century BCE in prosperous areas close to Greece such as Karia, where Mausolos and Artemisia stood as patrons for large, innovative projects at Halikarnassos and at Labraunda. They employed both distinguished sculptors from mainland Greece and skilled architects and sculptors native to Asia Minor.

Thus the 5th-century tastes of the elite in wealthy areas of the Mediterranean, especially in Sicily and Makedonia, provided a significant model for private and early royal consumption of art in the course of the 4th century BCE and later. Many cities in Sicily and Makedonia had oligarchic or



FIGURE 3.3 House 1, Horraon (PHOTO M.M. MILES).

monarchic politics, and vigorous economies that supported personal wealth. People demonstrated their wealth socially through ownership and display of artistic domestic accoutrements, visible in the archaeological record.

Sudden Influx of Precious Metals

If we look for moments in the 4th century BCE when concentrated wealth, consumption, and artistic production were suddenly escalated in the Greek world, there are two. The first was in the aftermath of the looting of Delphoi by the Phokians starting in 356/5 BCE, which released an enormous quantity of gold, silver and bronze into the economy, an estimated 10,000 talents worth of silver, of which 4,000 talents were gold dedications, used by the Phokians to hire mercenaries and conduct war (Diodoros Sikeliotes xvi.56,3-6). These figures cited by Diodoros are plausible but may represent the amount the Phokians were fined ten years later after they were defeated, whereas the actual

amount taken was more likely about 5,000 talents, still a very large sum (Davies, 2007: 74–79; Chankowski, 2011: 144–146). The venerable Pan-Hellenic sanctuary had been nearly inviolate, until this episode of looting, treated with great condemnation by its contemporary and subsequent ancient historians (Parke & Wormell, 1956: 226–232). The looters took famous items such as the Lydian dedications seen by Herodotus (the giant silver bowl sent by Alyattes and the offerings of Kroisos), the gold tripod offered collectively by 31 Greek cities after the victory at Plataiai, and the gold crater dedicated by Romans after the capture of Veii in 395 BCE, and melted them. The looting of Delphoi was considered so noteworthy that the historian Theopompos of Khios, a contemporary to the looting, wrote a treatise entitled *On the Funds Plundered from Delphoi* (*peri ton ek Delphon sulethenton khrematon*), of which a few fragments survive (cited in Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* xiii.604f–605a; Flower, 1994: 36–37; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby Online*, 2014: 115 F 247–49).

The bullion was coined and dispersed through payments to mercenaries (and gifts to favourites), and the influx of coinage must have had an impact on local economies. But it also affected the availability of precious metals for reworking into metal vessels. What was not coined of precious metal (especially gold) could have been sold or used as bribes, and iron and bronze objects were reworked into weapons and armour (Diodoros Sikeliotes xvi.33,2; Williams, 1972: 45–69). In an analysis of this episode of looting, Davies (Davies, 2007: 82–83) points to the evidence for increased use of gold and silver vessels for dining, attested also in Athenaios.

Overlapping with the Phokian looting during the Third Sacred War and continuing through the second half of the 4th century, yet more gold and silver was released into Greece by Philippos II's ongoing mining operations in Odrysian Thrake, while silver continued to be extracted by Athenians at Laurion. One result of new resources was the large number of silver and gold vessels found in Makedonian tombs of the 4th century BCE, and further North in Thrakian burials. In a meticulous study of Makedonian silver vessels, E. Zimi (Zimi, 2011: 100–105) has demonstrated that the vast majority (ca. 102 objects) of silver vessels from Makedonia were manufactured in the last two quarters of the 4th century BCE, about 38% and 53% respectively. The 38% of the third quarter thus cannot be attributed to the next major influx of precious metals from Persia as a result of Alexandros' conquests; this illustrates the high productivity of silver mining in the Northern areas. Zimi also observes that the various uses of silver vessels (symptotic, dedicatory, funerary) are not new to the 4th century BCE, but rather can be traced back into the 5th and 6th centuries in Makedonia; the frequency of deposition increases with Philippos II's operations, and reflects an increase in availability and luxury that extended beyond the royal family to elites in Makedonia (Zimi, 2011: 20–21). A tomb-painting found in Ayios Athanasios (Tomb III, 20 km West of Thessalonike, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE) illustrates a symposium, with a *kylikeion* (open sideboard) on one side with a display of gold and silver vessels, the owner's collection, on view to his guests (Brecoulaki, 2006: 263–280; Pl. 92.1; Zimi, 2011: 17–18).

The second major release of precious metal was Alexandros' capture of Susa, which reputedly yielded some 40,000 talents of gold and silver bullion, and 9,000 talents of minted gold. (Diodoros Sikeliotes xvii.65,5–66.1–2; xix.46). At Persepolis, 120,000 talents of silver were captured that had to be carried away by thousands of mules and camels (Diodoros Sikeliotes xvii.70–71,2; de Callatay, 1989). This was the money that helped fuel the Attalids and

other Successors' new kingdoms. Ptolemaios I no doubt got his share, along with Alexandros' embalmed body, but in taking Egypt he also took an economic powerhouse that did not necessarily depend on accumulated wealth. At least some of the newly available precious metal must have been purchased in Sicily, for by the 3rd century BCE, Sicily had become well-known as a centre of production of fine metal ware, of the sort later looted and collected by Verres during his governorship in 73–70 BCE (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,54; Miles, 2008: 195–204).

Thus the shift from sumptuous, communal dedications in sanctuaries to a higher level of both royal and individual, private consumption of luxuries occurred across a century, from the closing decades of the 5th century BCE to the aftermath of Alexandros' death. Beginning with the elite merchants of Akragas and the court of Dionysios I in Syrakousai in the West, and Arkhelaos I in Makedonia, a pattern of high living in very well furnished and decorated houses was set that was then continued and expanded, in Makedonia and in Karia, bordering wealthy Persia; and expanded too within Greek areas and on a more individual level, even in modest communities like Olynthos. The quality of substances and media, and quantity of production were escalated, but similar types and genres (dining implements, interior decoration, statuary, painting) continued.

Once the Successors of Alexandros had ample funds, how did they use them to invigorate their rule and legitimize their claims? A large portion naturally supported the army and was used for construction, defence, navies and other practical necessities. The generals and their heirs, however, essentially behaving as usurping warlords, transformed themselves into legitimate kings through various symbolic means. Art and architecture played an enormous role in establishing legitimacy, especially in the construction of eponymous capital cities, when the new kings were now also taking on the role of *oikistes*, the traditionally heroic and religious role of city-founder that typically led to posthumous cultic honours. To be sure, Persian cultural influence, including conspicuous consumption, extended not only to Makedonia and to a lesser extent mainland Greece in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, and to Alexandros' own practices; the Ptolemaic kingdom necessarily absorbed and reflected Egyptian customs and imagery. The brilliantly creative Hellenistic period saw many new inventions within and a few beyond the well-established canons and conventions of Greek art and architecture (Stewart, 2006; Schultz, 2011). Yet the domestic traditions of mainland and Western Greece continued as a dominant model for expansive *tryphe* that helped establish legitimacy and royalty.

Eponymous Cities and Gigantism

The process of acquiring royal legitimacy is illustrated in microcosm at Demetrias, where Demetrios Poliorketes built for himself in 294/3 BCE a new city and fortified palace on the gulf of Volos, shortly after he was able to claim the throne of Makedonia upon the death of Kassandros and other rivals (Ploutarkhos, *Demetrios* 53,2–3). Earlier he and his father had defeated the Ptolemaic fleet at Cyprus in 306, when they both styled themselves “*Basileus*.” The father, Antigonos Monophthalmos, had established his own capital Antigoneia near the later Antiokheia in Syria. Thessaly, already an extension of Makedonia, had one of the best harbours (both logistically and protectively) in the Mediterranean in the Pagasitic Gulf. Demetrios must have realized the new port was crucial to Makedonian shipment and an excellent location for the new capital city, dominating Thessalia. So successful was the establishment of the new city that in the years to come Philippos v of Makedonia would label it as one of the three “fettters” of Greece (the others were Khalkis in Euboia and Korinthos) that, if held by Makedonians, prohibited any freedom in Greece (Polybios, xviii.11,4–7).

The design of the palace at Demetrias itself shares many similarities with those at Pella and Aigai: although what is visible today was largely added by Philippos v between 221–179 BCE, the predecessor built by Demetrios too consisted of large rectangular spaces formed by an elaborate *peristylum* courtyard surrounded by rooms, many of them for dining – that is, a traditional Greek house but on a much larger scale, and better decorated and furnished (summaries in Marzolf, 1996; Nielsen, 1999: 93–99; Bakhuizen et al., 1987). Affinities in general type between earlier Greek banqueting spaces in sanctuaries (such as that of Artemis at Brauron) and the larger spaces in Hellenistic palaces have been noted by Nielsen (Nielsen, 1999: 81–84, 97). Demetrios had the palace decorated appropriately, and actual painted walls, from the later phase, have emerged in excavations. A large theatre was built near the palace, and the city was arranged on a grid plan with wide streets. The extensive fortification wall was a new feature, and it is not clear how much time Demetrios actually spent at Demetrias, but having such a base was requisite for someone who, while truly king of Makedonia but briefly, spent the rest of his life trying to make his kingship more permanent.

Demetrios Poliorketes’ brief kingship and subsequent struggles took place after his great siege of Rhodos, 305–304 BCE. After the failed siege, and after Demetrios’ scattered troops had collected booty from the Rhodian countryside, the Rhodians were able to sell the aban-

doned siege machines for 300 talents of silver. By 294, just when Demetrios was founding Demetrias, the Rhodians hired Khares of Lindos to begin work on the Kolossos. For the statue some 500 talents of bronze and 300 talents of iron were used, that is, more than ten tons of bronze and six tons of iron (Philon, *peri ton hepta theamaton* iv.6). In size, 70 cubits or 30 to 35 meters, this new monument surpassed anything built before, more than three times the height of the Promakhos of Pheidias, built with spoils from the Persian Wars on the Akropolis of Athenai. W. Hoepfner has made a thorough investigation into the Kolossos and has identified likely blocks of its base on part of the mole in the harbour of the city. He presents a new and plausible reconstruction (Hoepfner, 2003). The statue was listed on the Hellenistic lists of Wonders of the world created in Alexandria, and it became the subject of poetry. H. Wiemer (2001) draws attention to an epigram preserved in the *anthologia palatina* (vi.171) that may well have been the very dedicatory epigram inscribed on the base of the Kolossos:

To you, O Sun, did the people of Dorian Rhodes
raise high to the heavens this brazen colossus,
then, having laid to rest the wave of war,
they crowned their country with the spoils of their
foes.
dedicating it not only over the earth, but on the land,
too,
they raised the splendid light of unenslaved freedom.
for to those who spring from the race of Herakles
a heritage both on land and sea is leadership.
(Translation by Wiemer, 2001: 131)

Wiemer points out the themes of freedom, leadership and hegemony in the dedication, and the implicit parallel with Plataiai drawn also by the Rhodian dedication at Delphoi. The Rhodians had sent an elaborate dedication to Delphoi of a large statue group of Helios in a gilded chariot drawn by four horses, surmounted on a tall pillar built opposite the Temple of Apollon, probably also after the siege was lifted (Jacquemin & Laroche, 1986: 305; Wiemer, 2011: 133–135) [fig. 3.4]. The example of Rhodians pitting themselves fiercely against the rising monarchies in the Aigaion reminds us of the enduring power of at least one polis-based system to hold out beyond Makedonian expansion for more than a century, and of the continued use of artistic dedications, now on a gigantic scale, to make a point about autonomy. The Rhodians remained autonomous until overextended hegemony in Asia Minor led ultimately to their submission to Roma in 164 BCE.



FIGURE 3.4 Terrace before Temple of Apollo, *Delphoi* (PHOTO M.M. MILES).

Temporary Display, Permanent Fame

Along with gigantism, another distinctive aspect of art display in this period is the staging of processions, exhibits and other ephemeral expressions of luxury and power. The most ostentatious one recorded was a Grand Procession in Alexandria, staged about ca. 276 BCE (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* v.196a–203b; Rice, 1983; Pollitt, 1986: 280–281; Erskine, 2013). Ptolemaios II used statuary and paintings, including antiques, as part of the backdrop for the extraordinary public festival that honoured Dionysos and perhaps also the Ptolemaioi themselves as part of the *Ptolemaia*. In a description written by the historian Kallixeinos and preserved in Athenaios, we read about a scarlet and white tent supported on wooden columns and *epistylia* formed a dining pavilion for the occasion, with 100 gold couches and 10,000 talents worth of silver service. The procession itself consisted of people costumed as *silenoï*, *satyroï*, *nikai*; masked figures and personifications; large contingents of brightly dressed processors of all ages and both genders; poets, musicians, priests; many “float”-like carts with statuary; huge numbers of gold and silver ves-

sels and elaborate sympotic equipment; vast containers of wine; tables, couches and other furniture, and tables set with tableaux; landscape tableaux with wine and milk springs; portrayals of Makedonia, India, Arabia and Africa; statues of Alexandros and Ptolemaios; statues of the Greek gods; jewellery, weapons, gilded palm trees, more plate; and finally, armed troops at the end, some 57,000 infantry and 23,200 cavalry. After a long descriptive narrative, Athenaios’ interlocutor concludes with praise of the Nile and agriculture as the true source of wealth:

What monarchy, fellow-banqueters, has ever been so rich in gold? Surely not any that appropriated the wealth of Persia or Babylon [Makedonia], or that had mines to work [Athenai], or that owned the Paktolos river [Sardis], washing down gold-dust. No; for it is only the Nile, the river truly called “gold-flowing,” that with its boundless crops of food actually washes down unadulterated gold which is harvested with no risk, so that it can supply all men sufficiently; being, like Triptolemus, sent forth into every land (Athenaios, v.203b–c, trans. Gulick).



FIGURE 3.5 Altar of Hieron II, *Syrakousai* (PHOTO B. WESCOAT).

Even allowing for exaggeration, Kallixeinos' account makes a stunning impression of extravagance. This procession with the creation of royal imagery for its patron, imaginative use of personifications, and copious quantities of theatrical and decorative arts must have helped inspire later sumptuous displays, and especially the triumphs in Roma. It also marked out Alexandria as a great centre for creativity and production of art of all sorts.

Far more enduring and with a much greater legacy were Ptolemaios' well-known cultural programs for Alexandria that included the Mouseion and the great Library, likely initiated by his father Ptolemaios I (Orri, 2002: 31–38). The scholars and scientists who worked in the Royal Grounds were surrounded by portraits of philosophers and other works of art, and the very existence of so many texts changed the way scholarship and literary endeavours could progress (Harder, 2013). As Y. Too has argued, placing art in libraries is far more than mere decoration, but rather forms a complementary representation of the reservoir of culture (Too, 2010: 191–214). The scholarship, translations and literary achievement that were encouraged in Alexandria changed its contemporary world and transmitted at least some of ancient Greek culture to the future.

In Pergamon, Attalos I and his family also could afford to collect ancient statuary that he set up in local sanctuaries, and also, reputedly, in his private rooms. A new library (whose precise location is debated) came to rival that of Alexandria and accommodated the many scholars brought to Pergamon by Attalid patronage (Hansen, 1971: 390–433). The library also featured statuary, including an image of Athena based loosely on the Athena Parthenos. For us, the Great Altar and its sculptural complex, although barely mentioned in antiquity, have become central to our understanding of Hellenistic art. By their appropriation and display of earlier art together with lavish commissions for new monuments, the rulers of Alexandria and Pergamon asserted, at the very least, cultural equality with earlier Greek eras, and cultural hegemony in their own. Their patronage of the arts reaped huge rewards.

In the Western Mediterranean, Hieron II turned Syrakousai into a model Hellenistic kingdom in the course of his long rule, from 270–215 BCE. He constructed the largest of all Greek altars, 198.4 m., or one Olympic stade, in another instance of gigantism in artistic display. [fig. 3.5] It was dedicated most likely to Zeus Olympios, and may have had an overtly political association with the Federation or *Koinon* of Zeus Olympios, which is epi-

graphically attested (Karlsson, 1997). Hieron II was so wealthy that he could afford to give away his ship *Lady of Syrakousai*, perhaps designed by Arkhimedes and splendidly decorated with new art, to Ptolemaios III of Egypt. The ship, for which we have another extensive literary description preserved in Athenaios (*deipnosophistai* v.203e–209e), is an example of royal luxury on a sumptuous scale that offered patronage and kept the art industry percolating. It was the Titanic of its day, because it was so big only Alexandria's harbour could keep it, and it never sailed again, yet modern analyses show that the description is plausible, based on evidence of ancient engineering and materials (Meijer & Wegener Sleeswyk, 1996; Turfa & Steinmayer, 1999). The outsized projects of the Kolossos, the Altar of Zeus and the giant ship illustrate both the creativity and the extraordinary resources of the period that could be directed to public display, and the lasting fame that resulted. Like the Dionysiac procession in Alexandria, these creations all had cultural antecedents in previous centuries, but now were carried out on a bigger, more costly and grandiose scale.

Literary Collections

A collection necessarily presupposes study and contemplation, hence an art collection also needs an art history. While Arkhestratos of Gela was researching and cataloguing fish for his long poem for the gastronome, the next generation of authors produced what seem to be the earliest art historical treatises. Technical treatises had been written since at least the 6th century BCE, by practising architects and other artists. In the 4th century, however, the historical and analytical stream of scholarship seems to have been undertaken by several authors cited by Plinius as his authorities (Pollitt, 1974: 73–84; Tanner, 2006: 212–219). Xenokrates, a pupil of Lysippos' Sikyonian school, was a trained bronze worker who "wrote volumes" about his art (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.83). Douris of Samos (ca. 340–260 BCE), a pupil of Theophrastos, the successor of Aristoteles, was a historian of Makedonia and Makedonians and biographer of Sicilian Agathokles. Among his very wide range of topics are essays on painting and drawing. Antigonos, probably of Karystos (ca. 350–270 BCE), was a sculptor and author active in the Attalid court at Pergamon who also is said to have written "volumes" about his art (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.84). Such works evidently focused on artists and their contributions to the development of naturalism.

Pella was the original home of Poseidippos, an epigrammatist of the early 3rd century BCE who would go on to the

court of the Ptolemaioi in Alexandria. He was a younger contemporary of Asklepiades of Samos, and part of a circle of men who took this very old form (epigrammatic drinking songs, dedications and epitaphs are preserved from the 8th century BCE onward) and in a fresh, chiseled style brought the genre to new levels of intensity, complexity, and brilliance. In the recently discovered Milan papyrus with a newly expanded corpus of his epigrams, we find that art and art collections are a primary topic in this very specific literary form (Gutzwiller, 2005: 1–16, Prioux, chapter 5). One set of epigrams is devoted to gems (*lithika*) and another to bronze statuary (*andriantopoiika*), including one on the *Kolossos of Rhodes*. Interpretations of these epigrams by A. Stewart, A. Kuttner and E. Prioux have pointed to the sophisticated art historical knowledge and carefully calculated reflections on Ptolemaic acquisitions that are embedded in the texts (Stewart, 2005: 183–205; Kuttner, 2005: 141–163; Prioux, 2008: 159–252). J. Porter points to the paradoxical interest in the miniature and fine detail, together with implicit admiration of the gigantic (Porter, 2011). Poseidippos' epigrams illustrate the wider cultural sophistication in which art collections were being formed, and the now commonly understood embryonic art histories that focused on the successive skills of sculptors. Another strand of Hellenistic literary "collection" of art consists of writing about a set of "Wonders" (usually seven); one such preserved list is in an epigram by Antipatros of Sidon (ca. 2nd century BCE, *anthologia palatina* ix.58); whereas Poseidippos focuses on the *Kolossos* or other individual statues, Antipatros creates a competitive list of art and architecture, a different way of giving an interpretation and pronouncement. In intellectual circles, art was now not just a subject for historical discussion but an inspiration for literary production.

Enjoying Art as a Way of Life

Concurrently with the flourishing of arts in Alexandria and Pergamon, Makedonian palaces and sanctuaries at Aigai, Pella, Demetrias and Dion were expanded by their rulers, and became showcases for current art production, including mosaics, wall painting, and statuary. They also came to be decorated with artistic plunder won in multiple battles, and newly created displays of statue groups, such as Lysippos' group of at least 26 mounted companions of Alexandros at Granikos that was set up at Dion, but later plundered and taken to Roma (Stewart, 1993: 123–130, 388–390). As an impetus for "collecting" proper in the sense of calculated and calibrated displays of varieties of art, the attractive suggestion that the scholarly Aristotelian

methods of counting, categorizing, labelling and comparing surely had an impact on the beginnings of art historical connoisseurship seems persuasive: this would be analogous to the development of modern archaeology out of 19th-century antiquarianism that had its careful typologies (Bounia, 2004: 49–54). Soon the royal uses of art in palaces, sanctuaries and libraries, and stunning outdoor sculpture began to be reflected in the more modest, smaller-scale but still notable displays in the Hellenistic houses at Pella, Eretria and Delos, and in Sicily, especially Morgantion and Agrakas, now recovered from the earlier Carthaginian sack. This includes ever more intricate and painterly floor mosaics, statuary in *peristylia*, elaborate furniture, and for the especially wealthy, ancient art, as in the private shrine of Heius in Messene that we hear about from Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4.1–18). With rising individual wealth, especially of the urban elite and merchant class, art of all types had become a way of expressing interest in history and literature, of showcasing accomplishments and connections, of expressing fine sensibilities to one's friends and neighbours. These new directions and social expectations became firmly established in Roma, and have passed on to us with surprisingly little change.

Art as Plunder: The Transfer to Roma

The distinctive collections of the Hellenistic monarchs, and surely even older antiques, in turn were plundered by victorious Roman generals, who carefully gathered up much of what the palaces, sanctuaries and *agorai* of Syrakousai, Ambrakia, Pella, Dion, Demetrias and Korinthos had accumulated, and shipped the plunder back to Roma. A few, such as L. Aemilius Paullus, L. Mummius, and Sulla made dedications within Greece of some of the plunder (which Pausanias refers to scornfully as “worship-

ping the gods with other people's incense,” ix.30.1). The Roman Triumphs that included plundered art were religious in that the procession culminated on the Capitoline Hill with sacrifices, and the best of the booty was dedicated on the Capitoline or in other temples in Roma; the plunder also helped finance new temples, vowed by generals out of their manubial share. The economic impact in Roma was significant, since a high percentage of the loot went into the central treasury of Roma: in one event, after the victory over King Perseus of Makedonia at Pydna (168 BCE), L. Aemilius Paullus' booty taken from the Makedonian royal coffers brought direct tax relief for Romans for more than a hundred years (Ploutarkhos, *Aemilius Paulus* 38; Cicero, *de officiis* ii.76).

Above all, enacting a Triumph connected memory of past Triumphs with the present and projected Roman military might into the future. Thus the captured statuary and paintings supported a new agenda, and was dispersed into the city's *fora*, temples, *porticus* and private houses. But this developing custom was not without its critics, and among the first was Cato the Elder, who is said to have chastised the Romans for delighting in such things, soon after the especially impressive display of items from Syrakousai were paraded in his *ovatio* by Marcellus. The criticism was not that they had taken objects that might be sacred or rightfully belonged to others, but that they should have no use for such things, since terracotta images were just as good as those made of bronze or marble, and the new art was leading to indolent discussions and soft living. But the captured art was irresistible. Because plundered art was such a prominent feature, the Triumph was a formative influence in expanding Roman reception and intensifying appreciation of older Greek artistic styles of sculpture and painting. New art collections and displays, both public and private, soon became a significant part of the visual environment of Roma.

Hellenistic Court Collecting from Alexandros to the Attalids

Ann Kuttner

This paper's focus is on Hellenistic regal collecting, especially that of the Attalid dynasty ruling the kingdom of Pergamon from the late 3rd century BCE down to 133 BCE, when the last dynast, Attalos III, willed the kingdom to Roma and a sizeable bulk of his goods went onto the Roman auction market (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.149). The personalities are Attalos I (ruled 243–197 BCE), Eumenes II (ruled 197–59 BCE) and his brother Attalos II, Eumenes's co-ruler, then sole autocrat 159–138). Attalid regal collecting (overview, Schalles, 1990) is a trope of all scholarship on Hellenistic collecting, especially regal collecting (magisterially surveyed by Kunze, 1995) and a set-piece for basic sourcebooks on collecting (e.g. Bounia, 2004: 92 no. 27 on Attalos I). The court collecting practices of Attalid Pergamon are the “museum” behaviours best documented for us among the Hellenistic courts, which all amassed art and luxury artifacts but whose court cities are badly or not at all preserved. Sources on palace holdings of the Makedonian Antigonids, Egyptian Ptolemaioi, Anatolian and Middle-Eastern Seleukids, and on other individual despots' holdings often frustrate, because much comes from histories of Roman commanders taking palatial art booty in profusion but without specifying particular works, artists, schools. By contrast, Pergamon and its palace citadel are relatively well preserved and very thoroughly excavated; more than for many other dynasts, inscriptions and texts specify art holdings with precision. Though the dossier we need is limited, it fortuitously gives precious testimony to varied aspects of the Attalids' amassing of artistry. My subject is restricted to the Pergamon citadel proper, in this essay's short space, justified by that placement there of residential palace and appended sanctuaries which can fairly be closely linked to dynastic tastes and others' perception of them.¹ That

we know the citadel buildings' plans here lets us discuss display in its contexts, whether assured location or plausibly hypothesized. (Comprehensively on citadel, palaces, temple, porticoes, Hoepfner, 1996: 52–60; see also Grüssinger et al., 2012). Pergamon matters too because demonstrably formative to Roman practice. Republican generals were intimately allied with the Attalids in the destruction of almost all rival kingdoms of the East, and could learn from them as from other dynastic exemplars how to live with and look at art; kings split with Roman commanders the art booty of captured cities (below), and Aemilius Paullus even went on tour around Greece in 187/6 BCE with an Attalid prince to admire its artistic landscape (Livius xlv.27–28). The prince, younger brother of Eumenes II and Attalos II, lived up as well to a family legacy: one further reason that we can justify a special attention given to Attalid collecting, among that of the other Hellenistic kingdoms, is because those rulers were distinctive for a focused attention on the arts whose display at home and abroad constituted what Schalles (1985) called their Kulturpolitik (Gruen, 2000; Etienne, 2003; Mielsch, 1995), and second for their patronage of the writing of art history. The last ruler, Attalos III, himself worked in bronze, perhaps for art not artifacts, to pass the time (Iustinus, *historiarum Philippicarum* xxxvi.4,3). Strabon (xiii.4.4) even singled out for special mention Attalid predilection to beautification of their capital evidenced in public *anathemata* (votive art displays).

At the Attalid citadel compound, the kings lived with gods – the palace quarter, for which we know amassed statuary, was only across a narrow road from the sanctuary precincts that yield our archaeological evidence for ‘collected’ old masterpieces, and replicas; so, the citadel sanctuaries can have been seen as documenting regal taste as much as did palace holdings. Both exhibit (below) collectionism, a rubric that can cover owned and gifted acquisitions alike. Very valuable to this project is Jeremy Tanner's 2006 work on Pergamon (221–29) in his *The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece: Religion, Society and Artistic Rationalisation*. This work is important for

1 For more from the city, see e.g. Winter, 1908 and Hansen, 1971: 299–389 (esp. 317–19), 357, 363–67, and (local terra cotta figurines) 387–89. This essay must cleave to a restricted bibliography. For more on Pergamene art see, for instance, Hansen, 1971; Moreno, 1996; Pollitt, 1986: 35, 79–110, 118–19, 234; Ridgway, 2000 and 1990, index sv Pergamon; Webb, 1996: 55–71 (architectural sculpture); Schober's Pergamene art survey, 1951; the Pergamon guidebooks by Radt, 1988 and Zimmermann, 2000 and the recent exhibition about the city, Grüssinger et al. edd., 2011. Well-illustrated highlights, including

statues discussed here, are in the Berlin museums' handbooks, Kunze et al., 1992 and Schwarzmeier et al. edd., 2012.

tackling the issues raised by Hellenistic collections of old art at Pergamon with their inscribed labeling, and probes deeply into the Hellenistic elite's habits of viewership and its views on artists; however, Tanner did not work with the full archeological and textual record for what stood on the citadel besides the bases for *spolia* that are his focus. Text and remains combined document close proximity of now old masterpieces to bravura work in a range of novel styles that served to elevate both the new and the old by comparison and contrast, at Attalid Pergamon as in many other Greek locations. That productive tension was already a natural by-product of sanctuary displays accumulated for several hundred years by the time of the Successor Kingdoms.

This essay prefaces its discussion of specifically Attalid practice with sections orienting the reader in the sociology and economics of art and fine artifact acquisition among both dynasts and non-royal elites in the early Hellenistic period. The evidence for Hellenistic kings' practices that I review has been often cited elsewhere; my commentary aims to draw attention to the behaviours which such evidence suggests. Image amassing among sub-regal populations grand or ordinary must have been at least partly a refraction of regal practices that go back in our evidence to Arkhelaos I of Makedonia (413–399 BCE). While this paper cannot essay a full synthesis, some generalizations are in order. Greek houses well into the 4th century BCE had, to our knowledge, contained as works of artistry only fine furniture, precious metal drinking vessels, and, for imagery, painted ceramics, adding figural mosaic floors by the mid-4th century. Monumental art display and patronage was limited to communal space, at sanctuaries and in civic sites like *agorai*. But from the mid-late 4th century onwards private persons documentably started to install, domestically, often-excavated terra-cotta statuettes, marble and bronze statues, and surely also paintings not now preserved. The householder at Priene who had ten marble statuettes and thirty-five figural terracottas (Burn, 2005: 106), the profuse under-life-sized marbles from houses all over the Hellenistic city of Delos (as Harward, 1982; Sanders, 2001), the numerous very high quality Hellenistic small bronze statues, when private not public (i.e. votive), demonstrate production of collectible artistry across the class spectrum for a collectionist society. This emphasis on self-fashioning by means of domestic display and of luxury (*tryphe*) occurred, as so often in comparable world cultures, in an age of steadily increasing aggregate wealth due to commerce and warfare. It was headed by individuals rich on a scale never before reached, because suddenly the East Greek world was controlled everywhere by kings, after the campaigns of the long-established dynasty of Makedonia, led by Philippos II and Alexandros.

Alsop's seminal 1982 project, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and its Linked Phenomena*, is important to this little paper: there, as in most literature on Greco-Roman collecting, the Attalids' project is a show-piece, with Attalos I as "history's earliest documented founder of an art-collecting dynasty" (Alsop, 1982: 191–193, quotation at 191). This publication greatly excited the great art historian Ernst Gombrich himself, who immediately wrote (1982) a lengthy, enthusiastic review. We still await any further accounting of pre-modern collecting on Alsop's scale, brought up-to-date with current method and theory. Alsop dug deep into the complex of phenomena that accompany collectionism in the world cultures, the "by-products of art" (Alsop, 1982: 1): collecting, art history writing, celebrity for artists, art markets and high prices, faking, and other behaviours make "an integrated, loosely interacting cultural-behavioural system with frequent and far reaching effects on art itself" (Alsop, 1982: 83). Where I part company from Alsop is when he often implicitly distinguishes collecting from patronage of new works, and above all from art that had a use. Collecting by persons or institutions in any culture in which the display of urbanity is valuable social currency, generally and in regards to the visual arts in particular, is sociologically very useful indeed. Selecting, amassing and commissioning, and the appreciative viewership which saner collectors expect to find somewhere, live in the realm of self-fashioning and the building of cultural capital. Collecting for exhibition by persons of power, in the case of Hellenistic kings (or any elites Greek or Roman), could not help but be useful to the way they legitimized their power by self-styling as benefactors to the community, givers of pleasure culturally as well as by other more mundane means. Since Alsop's day, we've seen intensive discussion of the way in which our own museums, supposedly devoted to beauty and information, institutionalize culture too to shape social structures, and also critique of how production of 'art for art's sake' is so easily drawn to complicity with such museums. But no-one in the Greco-Roman world would have seen anything to denigrate in such transactions between makers, audiences, owners, valuable functions.

This Hellenistic world indeed saw Alsop's "by-products of art" in a lively trans-Mediterranean art market, significant for the commodification of high culture and its imitations, and in the originally Classical (5th to 4th century BCE) cult of celebrity artists past and present, with their works commanding mind-boggling high prices. Not only art-history and art-criticism came to be, in the early Hellenistic period, developments in which scholar-artists at the Attalid Mouseion played a critical part: breathless reportage for popular circulation about particular spectacular monuments, in particular, regal ones, emerged as

a genre under Alexandros the Great (Kuttner, 1999: 97–98; with Tanner, 2006: 208–9, 229–30); literature about the collecting, display and viewing of art started to flourish as never before (Zanker, 2004: *passim*; Tanner, 2006: 209–211, 226–32). Art acquisition also benefited from new behaviours in Greek warfare, those of victorious commanders detaching votive as well as private art holdings of defeated states. And it is possible that city states now practiced a habit of “de-accessioning” of their art holdings (below). To discuss “philhellenism”, so often attributed to the Attalids, is to gesture to the rise of a discernible concept of Greek cultural patrimony that spanned all divisions between *polis* states, leading both to preservation of art in its original contexts and to separating art from those. And elites from kings downwards, when they took, bought, or commissioned, cultivated an aura of what we would call “taste” as possessed by owners/ displayers, which imputed that owners and onlookers shared “*aesthetic ethos*” (Tanner, 2006: 211).

The Background to Attalid Collecting: Princes and Celebrity Art

The turning point for the Greek proto-museum that was private as well as communal was when the 4th-century princes of Makedonia – soon to conquer much of Greece, and the Near and Middle East – began inviting famous artists to court and buying up their images. A palace was a very special kind of house: that is, it was a political centre; kings were wealthy individuals on a scale the Greek world had never seen, and the Hellenistic period is when the East Greek world, not just Makedonia and Sparta, came to be ruled by kings. The sharing of viewing by ruler with ruled, exemplary of tasteful stewardship of visual culture, was a now special facet of the ideology of power. That ethos had been directly taught in Makedonia to young Alexandros and his noble contemporaries from whom arose his Successors, in Aristoteles’ famous school at Mieza in Makedonia under the patronage of Alexandros’ father Philippos II. Aristoteles’ *Nikomakheia ethika* (1337b–1338b) contain his *curriculum* for the elite young: pupils should actually study from real artists how to make art, because as adults they will have to exhibit taste even in the purchasing of domestic furnishings. Aristoteles must have strongly encouraged his pupils to fraternize with the artists who will have flocked to Philippos’ wealthy court. For Alexandros, this program to learn taste certainly worked. He grew up in a palace with collected art: Archelaos I (ruled 413–399 BCE) had paid the great painter Zeuxis an enormous sum to decorate his palace (Ailianos, *poikile*

historia xiv.17). In his boyhood he was already sitting for artists like Lysippos (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.63). Already at the onset of his reign he ostentatiously showed off taste, singling out for his portraits (vii.125) a particular sculptor (Lysippos), painter (Apelles, whose workshop he used to visit, Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.85) and gem carver (Pyrgoteles). And Alexandros supplies our first textual evidence of art spoliation in war. He spoliated, in accompanying Philippos II’s conquest of Greece, likely from Thebai, a painting by Aristekides of Thebai of a woman wounded in a city sack to whose bloody breast her infant child crawled, to send it to the palace-city Pella (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.96).

The second of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, son of Alexandros’ half-brother Ptolemaios I, provides our next textual evidence of regal collectionism. Famously, Philadelphos commissioned in 279 BCE an enormous richly decorated “festival pavilion” (Rice, 1983) for banquets for members of his court, and decked it out with acquired masterpieces and new images. We are told (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* v.196a–197d, reproducing the Alexandria court writer Kallixeinos of Rhodos) that it had “one hundred marble statues by artists of the first rank” and, between them, paintings by artists “of the Sikyonian school, alternating with selected portraits, gold embroidered tunics, and extremely beautiful soldiers’ cloaks, some with portraits of kings woven into them, others with mythological scenes” (transl. Pollitt, 1986: 280). Display shields in silver and in gold were hung around, and, in recesses in the gallery, were placed statues of characters from tragedy, comedy and satyr plays in groups evidently impersonating on-stage groupings of conversing characters. Between them were golden Delphic tripods and, by the ceiling, gold eagles. On the floors were “Persian” textiles with carefully detailed figural images. In such a banquet setting, consumption of edibles had a blurred boundary with consumption of culture. Indeed, Ptolemaios enacted on a colossal scale what Greek hosts at the *symposion* which was the foundation of Greek (male) social bonding had always been providing to one another since the 8th century BCE or so – appreciative pleasure in precious, and less precious but interestingly decorated, table-ware.

Observe at the pavilion the concatenation of recent and probably older masterpieces of painting and statuary, aligned with obviously new-made works of art like the figured textiles (for Greeks, a much esteemed genre of art) and theatrical dioramas. New and older works set one another off. Ptolemaios Philadelphos and no doubt his father Ptolemaios I must have been collecting intensively up to this point. It was in this atmosphere that

Philadelphos' court poet Poseidippos wrote two sets of epigrams that each posed as a series written for an actual collection. One was a fictive gallery, *andriantopoiika*, of masterpiece statues by famous artists, both older, 4th-century masters like Lysippos, and roughly contemporary creations (Stewart, 2005). The other set, the so-called *lithika* (Kuttner, 2005), fictively reviewed a collection of varied objects in precious stones – jewellery, toilette vessels, drinking ware, display gems and foreign articles of historic pedigree, once owned by rulers, including plunder from Persia's royal treasuries that Philadelphos' father had helped to sack (Kuttner, 2005: 151–54, Prioux, chapter 5).

Additionally, court poets of the early Ptolemaioi yield some of our most important texts about visiting installed art, using the fiction of very ordinary people (women, at that) reacting with curiosity, pleasure and wonder to image groupings. One is by Herondas, 3rd-century Alexandrian poet, about a sanctuary tour (*mimiambos* 4), in a landscape stocked with a range of statuary; the other is court poet Theokritos' *eidyllion* 15. That poem's spectators visit an installation in the palace at Alexandria set up by Arsinoe II, wife of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, revealed for the festival of Adonis; the visitors gaze in wonder on an impressive new image group about the dying Adonis. It is fascinating to envision how such assemblages will have shared room in the palace with ruler images in traditional Egyptian Pharaonic style, as recent excavations of palace quarters in the harbour of Alexandria document. At the sub-regal level exists a fascinating parallel for Philadelphos' banquet display: Athenaios' description of the late 4th- or early 3rd-century wedding feast of one Karanos of Makedonia describes how at a special moment, hangings around the banquet chamber were pulled back suddenly to reveal multiple images of Eros, Artemis, Pan, herms, "and numbers of statues of that kind" who were crafted to hold silver torches. To accompany this, Karanos showed to and handed out to his guests an incredible number of precious metal banquet artifacts, a mirror to regal gift-giving. (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* iv.2g–5g).

As it happens, we know about Ptolemaios' art-broker for at least some of the "Sikyonian School" paintings – a despot from Sikyon itself, Aratos, active from 251 to 213 BCE. The young Aratos needed Ptolemaios Philadelphos' aid; he traded, successfully, on a friendship assisted by sending Ptolemaios paintings and drawings from Greece. Sharing of taste and art was technology for caste bonding. "For in these matters Aratos had a refined judgement, and was continually collecting and acquiring works of artistic skill and excellence" especially from the Sikyonian masters (Ploutarkhos, *Aratos* 12.4–13.1; 13.4; trans. Perrin). Aratos must have frequented artists' studios as gentlemen did

(which is where he would have found drawings), snapping up what artists made on speculation as well as directly commissioning. The texts for Aratos and Philadelphos make our first assured document of persons buying for secular ownership, to decorate their aura of command. They likely saw the innovative Sikyonian School as what we would call from our chronological vantage point modern or early modern – Cezanne, say, not Botticelli; in 279, the date of the pavilion, the famous leading lights of the school of Sikyon were only one-three generations old (Ptolemaios I had hosted Apelles at Alexandria). There's no sign the two despots were not paying attention to contemporary practitioners as well.

Purchase of such work by established artists must have come at a high cost often. By ca. 330 BCE, Mnason despot of Elateia paid to Aristeides (esteemed by Alexandros, above) close to five talents for a Battle of Alexandros against the Persians (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.99); Mnason paid another astronomical sum to Asklepiodoros and to Theomnestos. The best artistic training was costly, too: Pamphilos of Sikyon charged Apelles and Melanthos a talent or more for their apprenticeships (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.76). Nikias of Athenai was rich enough to turn down sixty talents offered him by Ptolemaios I, for a painting Nikias gave to his home city. Apelles could aid the career of Protogenes by offering him sixty talents for an image and spreading the rumour he (Apelles) meant to auction the work of art for an even higher price. Apelles himself received twenty talents in gold for a portrait for Alexandros (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.132, xxxv.87–88; xxxv.92). Plinius must have had a gossip textual source that specifically tracked painting prices in the 4th-century; it's a great pity we lack similar review of statue prices, or for much post-4th-century art. One can expect high prices to have stayed steady or risen in the 3rd century and after; this is the context for the story of Attalos II's large bid (below) for a masterpiece image of Dionysos by the 4th-century Aristeides.

The Attalids

If collecting means acquisition of already extant masterworks, and of old masterworks to boot, the evidence for the activities of the princes of Pergamon is paradigmatic of Greek, Hellenistic-era collecting. It displays the nexus of phenomena and factors discussed above – acquisition by spoliation and by purchase, commissions of contemporary work, deliberate appositions of the old to the new, and a special floruit of art-historical writing. Pergamon had been a minor town before the first Attalid, Philetairos,

made it his capital in the 270s BCE. From his day forward, the dynasty's task was to make it a city of splendour, a city of beauty; we know, too, of much activity embellishing subject cities and allied states like Athenai, and great sanctuaries like Delphoi.² The extant record for Attalid collecting starts with Attalos I (ruled 241–197 BCE), who placed at the citadel sanctuary of Athena Polias, on new bases inscribed to name the artist and origin city, statues from territories he took under control. Both were linked to events of the First Makedonian War, of Roma and Pergamon allied against Philippos V. It is plausible that more images whose bases are lost belonged to each set, and that the sanctuary terrace may have been further crowded by choice images from city-states ruled or conquered, as well as with purchased work. (For other bases from Pergamon naming Kresilas [5th-century Severe Style], Demetrios of Alopeke [Late Classical, early 4th century] and Polymnestos, see Hansen, 1971: 317).

One set, images from Aigina, had a now-ancient work of art next to a contemporary one. One base is lettered "[Onatas] son of Smikon (*alt* Mikon) (this image from) Aigina [made]", and the other says "Theron the Boiotian / made (this), on one side, and on another, "(the image is) from Aigina" (*IPergamon* 48–49; Tanner, 2006: 223, fig. 5.4). Onatas was a successful bronze-sculptor, himself an Aiginetan; scholars have been extremely tempted to link this base to Pausanias' notice (Pausanias viii.42,6) that Pergamon held Onatas' outstanding over-life-sized Apollo. If the base is not for that statue, then we would be able to say that Pergamon showed a predilection for Onatas' work, which was in the early-mid 5th century BCE, in the so-called Severe Style that must have conveyed grandeur even if lacking the advances of Late Classical work. Theron is known from a notice in Pausanias (Pausanias vi.14,11) of a victor statue at Olympia, then-young Gorgos of Messene, who was later involved with that town's negotiations with and resistance to Philippos V of Makedonia (Polybios vii.10, 215 BCE). The sculptor thus worked in the 230s or so: this set of statues from Aigina, then, juxtaposed a contemporary artist's work with a master over two hundred years old.

Though these images from Aigina are normally referred to as booty, *spolia* qua spoils, they quite possibly were not. They are linked to the purchase by Pergamon of the island of Aigina in 210 (*IPergamon* 47–49). Aigina had been cap-

tured by Roma in the First Makedonian Wars, passed by treaty to Aitolia, and then sold for 30 talents by Aitolia to Roma's ally Attalos (Polybios xxii.8,10), who was eager to use it as a naval base (Figueira, 1993: 388–90). Attalos, we think, did not join in the Roman conquest of the island, and might not have literally despoiled it when it came peacefully into his possession. Figueira (1993: 389) struggles to make sense of a now lost inscription for a dedication by Attalos I, "King Attalos (dedicated) to Athena these first-fruits of the (?) from Aigina" (*IPergamon* 47; *OGIS* 281), with three scenarios: the inscription might refer to booty, in which case our texts are wrong that Attalos did not join Roma in invading Aigina, or to something from the tribute from Aigina (i.e. art as cash), or to spoils from towns that Attalos attacked using Aigina as a base. The image(s) can have been new, or old; we should note the chance that the inscription referred to the emplacement that included the two known statue bases.

The images of Onatas and Theron can also have come as gifts from Aigina, spontaneous or coerced. If so we can expect that Attalos I rewarded the *polis* if he did not offer cash outright for open purchase. That cities did take offers for their masterpiece possessions we do know for Roman activity in the 1st century BCE, outside my scope. But Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4,59–60) refers in 70 BCE to de-accessioning in the Greek world broadly speaking; he says that no "Greek" or "Asian" city ever did this of its free-will, because he is disputing his opponent's transactions with Sicilian cities – but this protests too much. Hellenistic Greek cities were stuffed with art, and could part with something without much depleting the esteemed visual environment, even if some protested, when there were buyers with regal pocket-books (let alone the power to affect a city's fate). Some of what Aratos and Ptolemaios II (above) acquired may have come to them in this way. Another plausible scenario is that Roman leadership had taken away statues from Aigina, and that Attalos purchased the spoliated bronze statues from the Roman command, as for the later attempted purchase by Attalos II of Roman spoils from Korinthos (below). We can perhaps even imagine a gift from Roman leadership to an allied king known to be fond of art.

The second set of base inscriptions, with identical base mouldings, say their statues came from Oreos, in Euboea (*IPergamon* 50; Tanner, 2006: fig. 5.4), certainly as booty or coerced tribute. From this *spolia* series are two fragments with matching mouldings: one says "Silanion made (this), (image) from Oreos"; the other, longer fragment has only "from Oreos". Attalos I with a Roman ally took and sacked Oreos, and Opos in Eastern Lokris, in

2 For political history of the Attalids, see Kosmetatou, 2005; for cultural activities, cultural politics, see Schalles' unsurpassed 1985 work on Attalid *Kulturpolitik*; for a still superb study of the dynasty, its capital, and its art there, Hansen, 1971, alas unillustrated.

208 (Livius xxviii.6): the Roman general, Sulpicius Galba sacked Oreos, and Attalos was allowed to occupy Opous and, extort contributions from its leading citizens. So here, too, we have a scenario in which the Attalid king may well have taken booty not directly but rather from a sharing of spoils with the Roman ally – one possible scenario for the pieces from Aigina (above) and attempted acquisitions from Korinthos by Attalos II (below). Attalos returned to Oreos in the Second Makedonian War, too, in a joint Attalid-Roman campaign, and the city was handed over to him, in 199/98 just before his death in 197. If this is when the images were acquired, then the king took them directly. All we can say of this set is that it showcased a Late Classical master, Silanion, active in the 320s, at least (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.51).

Now let's move to the much-discussed anecdote of Attalos II trying to procure, from war booty, the Dionysos of the 4th-century master painter Aristides of Thebai. Attalos II was the ally of the Roman general Mummius in the Akhaian War, and, though not present at the sack of Korinthos in 146, had a general and soldiers there. This officer, Philopoimen, had the responsibility to oversee acquisition of art for his master. Mummius culled from Korinthos its most outstanding votives "and other decorations" and let Attalos' agent take the lesser among these (Pausanias vii.16,7–8; that the Pergamenes did do badly with the "lesser" objects we can doubt). At sale of the booty Attalos offered a fabulous price, 600,000 sesterces (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.24) for Aristides' Dionysos. Such sales were normal after successful Roman and no doubt Hellenistic Greek campaigns, to disencumber, to raise cash to pay soldiers, and to enrich state treasuries. Mummius turned Attalos down and took the image to Roma to dedicate. The sources draw on a tradition hostile to Mummius which caricatured this cultured patron as a ridiculous boor for not understanding this was a good painting until he heard the Attalid price (Gruen, 1992: 124–9). Did the agent, Philopoimen, have instructions about how high he could bid, and a free hand to select whatever looked good, or had he managed a communication with Attalos already? It is certainly the case that the subject as well as the artist would appeal, since at Pergamon the cult of Dionysos under the epithet Kathegemon was intimately linked to celebration of the dynasty (Hansen 1971: 441, 451–53, 460–63, 469; Michels, 2011: *passim*; Dignas, 2012: 134–35). The citadel had at least one and possibly two Dionysiac shrines (Radt, 1999: 189, 195). We even know of votive works of new Dionysiac art dedicated jointly at Pergamon to the king and Dionysos Kathegemon (a *satyros* for Attalos I, known from inscribed

base *SEG* 39: 1334; Pleket and Stroud, 1989; Michels, 2011: 233–37). It is tempting to wonder if a Dionysiac image stood on the lost statue base for which a rectangular gap was left in the noted mosaic floor from Palace V (Kunze, 1996: fig. 7), a construction for Eumenes II and Attalos II, which had images of Dionysiac theater masks as well as of birds and garlands.

Attalos I was, as noted above, exposed personally to the sites from which he took the art of Oreos and Aigina; he, and his successors had the chance to be art-historically informed, enjoying relations with cultured courtiers and also directly with artist-critics who could advise. The Mouseion library that Attalos I helped to establish, whether or not at the sanctuary of Athena Polias beside his palace on the citadel (for library site theories, Coqueugniet, 2013) hosted, as scholars of Attalid art-practices always observe, two seminal art historians of sculpture and of painting, important sources to Plinius' 1st-century CE art history. Both worked as sculptors for Attalos I (Stewart, 1999, s.v. Antigonos and Xenokrates; Tanner, 2006: 213–14; Pollitt, 1974: 74–75). About Antigonos (probably not the eponymous philosopher from Karystos; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.84) we know little. Xenokrates of Sikyon is famous among scholars for the dictum assigned to him that "art stopped" after Lysippos and his first wave of disciples (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.52). Clearly Xenokrates was, however, not denigrating his own mastery even if he likely posed as a master in the Lysippan tradition. Likely, these men would have arranged that the royal library owned a copy of Douris of Samos (ca. 350–to at least 251 BCE; Tanner, 2006: 213), a polymath who wrote on the lives and works of painters and sculptors, as well as of any other art-history writers of the 4th and 3rd century now lost to us (in Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv–xxxvi; Müller, 1841–70: ii.466–88; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 2A.1136–1158); they will also have seen to it that the library owned copies, if any could be procured, of earlier artists' technical treatises on their own art, like that of 5th-century Polykleitos.

What else do we know about Attalid collecting? One king Attalos (we don't know which one) put in the palace 6th-century work, Archaic Graces (Kharites) by Boupalos (they would seem *korai*); we know Boupalos to have worked in Asia Minor from whence in Attalid domains or enemy cities the images came, as booty, gift or purchase. Pausanias (ix.35,6) tells us about their placement, though he does not specify whether Attalos I or II, or even III. The story narrates Attalids' art now in a residential setting which must have come from an originally religious context. Style and great age appealed to the new owner, who

thought too about metaphoric impact in gracing palace life with Kharites, emblematic of harmony, beauty, and culture. If Pausanias' term *thalamos* means a bedroom suite shared with a wife, the subject was especially apt. It's a lovely bit of luck that the palace compound – specifically “Palace v” – yielded a new-made female image that works references to the drapery style of an Archaic *kore* into a thoroughly then-modern graceful, complexly moving dancer-like pose (from the early 2nd-century Palace v, small Northern room with mosaic signed by Hephaistion; Kunze, 1996: fig. 5–6, a possible pendant excavated elsewhere in the city; Ridgway, 1989: 75, 89, 314–16, pl. 77 and [pendant] pl. 88; Hansen, 1971: 357–58). The Attalids had a great appetite for real Archaic art, finds at and just below the Athena Polias sanctuary show; these were published by Winter in the German excavation monograph series (Winter, 1908: 3–9 cat. 1–16, 18) but are not normally discussed in the literature on Attalid collecting. An exception, the brief section in Radt's 1988 guidebook (189–90) does show a fine *kore* fragment (189, fig. 74) beside an image of the Attalid, classicizing Hera/Aphrodite and Athena from a room behind the hall of what we think is the Mouseion library compound (*pro* and *contra*, Strocka, 2000 in the portico of the sanctuary of Athena Polias, below). The Athena sanctuary showcased, therefore, a fine selection of very ancient statues; at least one (Winter, 1908: 10–11 cat. 19) was a *kouros*, too. They gave this Attalid sanctuary construction an instant air of the primeval, to match the displays at ancient sanctuaries all over the Greek world. If any came from pre-Attalid Pergamon itself, still they were deliberately re-assembled to honour the goddess Athena at the sanctuary Philetairos first laid out for her, fitting décor to the temple's own archaizing architecture (on which Kuttner, 2005: 169–71). Similarly “collected” must have been the few early 5th-century Severe Style marbles from which comes a male head, and two female draped bodies (Winter, 1908: 9–10 cat. 18, 11–12 cat. 20–21). (Texts tell us more about collected art, which might have been at the citadel: Plinius (*naturalis historia* xvi.24) praises the effect of fingers seeming to press into flesh in the *symplegma*, i.e. erotic tussle, by Kephisodotos son of Praxiteles).

Here we can turn to a last set of inscribed bases: a long fragment inscribed for three artists that bore standing bronzes, the cuttings show (*IPergamon* 135–37; Tanner, 2006: 224 fig. 5a): one by an [...].naios; one, “Myron of Thebai made (this)”; one, “Praxite[les made (this)]. Associated with this unbroken sequence is a base (*IPergamon* 138; Tanner, 2006: 225 fig. 5b) inscribed “Xenokrates [made (this)]. The inscriptions do not

include a provenience, unlike the bases discussed above which do give an origin city in token of being war *spolia*; they may have been acquired peacefully. If these works were by the Severe-Style artist (Myron) and the 4th-century master Praxiteles, it indicates a statue gallery that deliberately apposed works of visibly quite different styles, just as did the bases for Aiginetan works by Severe-Style Onatas and by Hellenistic Theron. The name of Xenokrates, which might be that of Attalos I's own master artist, had led some to think (e.g. Mielsch, 1995; Tanner, 2006: 224–5 and no. 54) that these were new pieces by sculptors who had taken art-historically famous use-names, Myron and Praxiteles. I doubt this, in the context of the known citadel assemblages (as do Tanner, 2006: 225 and his sources).

I have mixed pieces owned by the kings, at their palace, with images that have a sanctuary context, choosing those in the same zone as the palaces as a control, omitting statuary from elsewhere in the city. Both sets can be said to have been “collected”: judiciously, deliberately amassed, by whatever process (opportunities afforded by war and dominance (*spolia*), by the market, by direct commission) for reasons that we can call aesthetic and art-historical, with multiple finds confirming an estimation of distinct period styles. This remains true in addition to the political, triumphalist and hegemonical valency and the subject appeal that some of them can have had. Tanner (2006: 220–34) gives a masterful discussion of the broad implication for Hellenistic states of mind about the status of art and artists, and the intellectual implications of taking art out of the physical and mental social environment in which it had been originally “embedded” (his good, recurrent term). I would like us to think about the import of Attalid practice – and that of all Hellenistic courts and collectors from Alexandros onwards – under the rubric of “cultural patrimony”. That is, these practices assumed a category it is not, I think, anachronistic to call “Greek art”, common patrimony to all civilized Greek persons and polities. That attitude had, just as it has now, inherent tensions. It was rooted in an admiration for historically located pedigree, and a respect for original place, for the splendours and object histories of this or that site that were worth admiring. On the other hand, if such art objects were the patrimony of all cultured Greeks, then in at least some minds they could be transferred from site to site, owner to owner, with no qualms about disembedding them (the rationale of contemporary “world museums”).

At Pergamon the palace and its sanctuaries were so proximate to one another, cramped together on the lofty

citadel, that the association of Attalids, their tastes and their ideology of culture, with sanctuary art, must have been not easily escaped. Special to the Athena sanctuary, in fact, is that its portico housed important rooms that were not for worship but for some kind of esteemed congregating, and were not simple temple treasuries; whether one of them contained all (unlikely) or part of the royal Mouseion library, two rooms showcased impressive statuary that asked to be visited and inspected, in effect, collections of new art: one with a replica of Pheidias' Parthenos, two others, one an Athena, the other an Aphrodite (or Hera) (bibliography below). At the same time, these goddess images were potentially what one could call religious, that is, images of deities, and it is quite probable that at least some of the "collected" statuary on the inscribed bases discussed above showed gods (e.g. Pergamon's patron Herakles). Not only the facts of sanctuary display but also of domestic display at a secular site raise problems that many authors see in labelling Late Classical and Hellenistic art amassing as practiced for its own sake (whatever that means). Such scholars (like Kunze, 1996 and Sanders, 2001) dismiss the attribution to aesthetic impulse for the very frequent domestic or even palatial images of divinity; they hold that these statues were owned primarily out of piety. However, that does not explain why in the pre-Hellenistic period of domestic décor equally pious Greeks did not use potentially religious sculpted images in the home at all.

Instructive is the fact that donors of images to actual sanctuaries cared about the effects of spectacular artistry, and asked admiration for their taste in helping such art happen; by the mid-6th century BCE at the very latest, a sense of visual art as a piece of high culture infused the holy ground that yields our own record of "Greek masterpieces" by "great artists". The fictive tour of sanctuary statues by some very ordinary women in Herondas' *mimiambos* 4, a 3rd-century poem, is a tour of images valued by their onlookers for artistry, a pleasurable reward to pious pilgrimage. No critic would claim that the Greek name-artist masterworks by Polykleitos et al. were not treasured as such in the house of Heius at Messene in Sicily in the 1st century BCE, in what Cicero in 70 BCE calls a *sacellum* (shrine room), some of them acquired earlier by Heius' ancestors, that is in the 2nd century BCE; Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4.3–6, 70 BCE) details how they were shown off as an ornament of their city to Greek (and to Roman) visitors. This desire to impress with artistry must have been exactly the case, for instance, in a house at Priene decorated ca. 160 BCE with varied marbles including an image of the semi-divine Alexandros the Great based on

public prototypes, found with a Hermes herm, a Kybele, an Eros and a girl (Stewart, 1993: 335); if it was a domestic shrine room, it was also a small gallery of admirable sculpture.

At the outset, and stressed in passages on the festival pavilion of Ptolemaios II and on Attalid remains mixing old and new art, I've also touched on the relationship between respect for the past and pride in the present. There is no question that the art-historical mentality of Hellenistic writers and of Romans after them set up a potentially closed set of moments of best artistic inspiration, a set that overlaps what we call Classical and Late Classical, 5th to 4th century BCE. That mentality, inculcated in artists and their elite public, demonstrably led to a high esteem for new art that visibly aped the admired past. Hence the well-known Hellenistic phenomenon of Neo-Classicism. The remains from the Attalid citadel are outstanding in this respect, from the so-called Mouseion complex in the portico of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias (plan, Tanner, 2006: 229 fig. 5.7): the colossal, very close adaptation of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos that dominated the big North Hall (Tanner, 2006: 228 fig. 230; Pollitt, 1986: fig. 171), and the lovely, heavily classicizing Aphrodite/ Hera and the so-called "Athena with the Crossed Aegis", possibly by the same workshop, found together in a room right beside it (1880 excavation image, Radt, 1988: 189 fig. 73; Niemeier, 1985; Schober, 1951; Hansen, 1971: 349–56; Altripp, 2007: 165–81 seeks to redate the three to the Roman era). Those three statues bear enormous responsibility for the trope of Pergamene Classicism standardly ascribed in Hellenistic studies to this centre among others. To that category can be joined the little replica of the 4th-century Timotheos' *Leda and the Swan* from the sanctuary terrace (Rieche, 2010: 123–24 fig. 6). And we wonder if the colossal bronze Athena once on the so-called Round Base of Attalos I's Polias precinct was not a classicizing work, imitating as it did the location on the Athenian Akropolis of Pheidias' colossal *Athena Promakhos* close to Athenai's Parthenon (*IPergamon* 20; *OGIS* 269, 241/40). It is important, though, to recognize that the three statues from the so-called Mouseion were also, in obvious details of posture and iconography, modernized, showing links even to details of the facture of the "baroque" sculptures of the Great Altar (e.g. Niemeier, 1995).

The case of the Parthenos is important to collectionism, and also to the issue of whether it, and its companion pieces from the side hall, are religious or in the secular category "art". As a replica of a very famous work of art, the installation, dating to the building of the Sanctuary of

Athena Polias' portico by Eumenes II, bid strongly for an art-historical reading, one that could complement the sort of gallery-effect of the statues of Attalos I (above) in the main precinct. And of course the very fact of masterpiece replication is important, as precursor to Roman practices. Tanner proposed that the setting de-sacralised this Parthenos, shifting her instead to the sphere of emblem and generative metaphor (Tanner, 2006: 228–92). Platt, however, stresses for the very same installation the votive aura of epiphany, in fruitful tension with its high art stature and its character (as replica of another work of art) of allusion (Platt, 2011: 172–73). Why choose? Meditation either on divine presence, or upon its denotation – a cogitation and emotional response that Hellenistic artistry was aimed to catalyse – could be distributed across the minds of diverse viewers, or even co-exist within the same viewer. Attalos' palace-chamber *Kharites* were acquired as works of admirable very ancient art, it is obvious, even while their subject was auspicious religiously; we can't know if the princes ever muttered a prayer to the *Charites* in front of the statues or not, but if they did, it was without losing a consciousness that these were acquired treasures, family heirlooms.

I would like to close by thinking over what Attalid attention to old good art and old good styles meant, in the total visual environment of the citadel (the remains from the rest of the city beg treatment elsewhere). Here where the Attalids lived (discussed above for Palace v are the archaistic dancer[s] and a site for a lost statue base), bravura workmanship in new modes compositional, generic and stylistic crowded the same 20 minutes' space of strolling as did canonical "old masters" and modern work in ancient modes; in Zanker's words, their "rules were still felt to be in full vigour. Breaking them would have been seen as an intentional step, which might lead, however, and in the event did lead, to a more vital creativity" (Zanker, 2004: 165–67, quotation from page 166). Giving some characterizations should serve the purpose. Think of the innovative battle group series of Epigonos' "Long Base" (shortly after 223, for Attalos I, *IPergamon* 21–28), standard art-historical fare, and of the enormously long series of veristic reliefs of tumbled weapons that ringed the Polias precinct portico and blazoned its gate; (a brand new genre). Think of the epigraphically attested collection of author portraits, at the Athena sanctuary terrace, a then novel genre – if the portico really did contain the Mouseion library (theories, Coqueugniot 2013), a fine instantiation of text as image; some at least were surely in the innovative "pathetic" verist style of known Hellenistic images of intellectuals in original and replica, not least the posthumous recre-

ations (6th-century poet Alkaios (*IPergamon* 198), 5th-century historian Herodotos (*IPergamon* 199), Timotheos (*IPergamon* 200), Balakros (*IPergamon* 201), Apollonios (*IPergamon* 202), "Homeros" (base with twenty-line epigram, *IPergamon* 203). Think of the so-called Great Altar, once Eumenes II and Attalos II had it set in place: key displays included intercolumniations crowded with draped female statues in contemporary styles, the very modern "baroque" encircling *Gigantomakhia* reliefs, and the just as innovative if quieter style of the Telephos cycle within the crowning structure. As successive monuments were put in place, the potentially retrospective vision of amassed old masterpieces, and retrospective replicas and new work, was highlighted by and served to highlight a Pergamene modernity, a "creative incongruity" (Zanker, 2004: 167). In its total environment, collectionism under the Attalids as throughout their world celebrated an art history of achievement that had a fixed beginning, but ideally, no ending. It's fitting that when city and kingdom passed into Roman hands in 133, when dying Attalos III bequeathed his kingdom to Roma and his goods entered the Roman history of collecting, sold at auction (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.149), aspects of Pergamon's visual environment, like the Great Altar, increasingly took on a role in Roman eyes as themselves exemplary of a golden age of art.

Appendix: More Citadel Art Finds

A fragmentary Hermaphrodite (Winter, 1908: 132–33 cat. 115, and Ridgway, 1990: 328 [3rd-c.] and Ajootian, 1997: 231, 235); a strange, 2nd century (?) pseudo-relief group from the Polias sanctuary portico of *Herakles liberating Prometheus*, and its associated so-called *Hesione with sea monster*, with other body fragment (Brogan, 1998); reliefs with *Trojan Horse*, *Gigantomakhia*, and myth scene (Ridgway, 2000: 31, 126, pl. 4–6; Webb, 1996: 60–61); South slope of the citadel, under-life-sized female torsos, archaizing (stiff corkscrew curls), bodies ending below hips in two rows of leaves spread downwards to fit a support (Winter, 1908: 203–4 cat. 221–22); terrace, possible author portrait location of another author portrait, of *Sappho*, whose epigrammatic inscription (*CIG* II 3555, *anthologia palatina* vii.15) is recorded by the Renaissance antiquarian Ciriaco d'Ancona; a small bronze dancing faun from an early Hellenistic house cleared away to make the Great Altar (Hansen, 1971: 318); other finds of small bronzes, including a *Herakles* (Pinkwart, 1972).

Poetic Depictions of Ancient *Dactyliothecae**

Évelyne Prioux

The first and longest surviving section of the “New Poseidippos” (*Papiri della Reale Università di Milano* [*P. Mil. Vogl.*] viii.309) consists of a series of epigrams praising intaglios and valuable stones. It has been argued by several scholars (Hutchinson, 2002; Bing, 2005; Petrain, 2005; Prioux, 2008: 173–177; Prioux, 2010; Höschle, 2010: 163–170) that this section of the papyrus has a programmatic value (in other contexts, gems and intaglios have indeed been used by ancient authors as metapoetic motives; cf. Philodemos, *peri poiematon* [Herculaneum papyri, *P. Herc.* 1676], col. 16.3–23 in Sbordone, 1976; see also Graver, 1998: 629–631; Hutchinson, 2002; Bing, 2005; Petrain, 2005; Prioux, 2008: 173–177). One can also reasonably assume that this very section has, at the same time, a political meaning: by composing and putting together this epigrammatic cycle, Poseidippos presents the Queen of Egypt – either Arsinoë II or Berenike II (addressed as *πότνια* in Poseidippos, *epigrammata* 3 A.–B.) – with a fictive *dactyliotheca* that may represent, thanks to the mention of the varied provenances of the stones, the many parts of the new empire ruled by the Lagidai, along with the possessions of their allies and some of the territories that they did not actually own but may have aspired to control (Bing, 2005; Prioux, 2008: 177–198; Prioux, 2010). Some of the epigrams mention the limits of Alexandros’ empire and the remote places that he reached during his campaigns, suggesting that the Ptolemaioi are the true heirs of Alexandros and/or that they ought to inherit his whole empire.

Of course, this series of epigrams cannot be taken as the actual description of an existing collection of gems, but it may rather be read as an “imaginary museum”. Some of the gems it describes were possibly part of the treasures owned by the Ptolemaioi and kept in the Alexandrian palace, but others are presented as the precious possessions of private individuals (for instance, Nikaia, a young woman from Kos, who is otherwise unknown). Other stones in the

series are even gigantic rocks seen on the Euboian shore that no one would ever consider transferring to Alexandria and storing in a king’s *dactyliotheca*. Yet, this series is relevant to the topic of “ancient museum archetypes”, because Poseidippos selects the stones he describes in order to provide his reader and his royal addressee with a purposeful series: 1. the provenances of the stones evoke the rise of Alexandros’ empire or the extent of the Lagid empire; 2. the range of minerals seems to have been chosen for its symbolic value: some of the materials that Poseidippos mentions have been famously used in dynastic monuments representing Arsinoë II; 3. The motifs carved on the stones have arguably been selected for their iconological value. Poseidippos thus presents the queen with a meaningful series of gems, some of them real, some of them possibly imaginary: far from being randomly associated, these poems rival with the kind of collection that a cunning and learned amateur could assemble by carefully selecting precious objects or by designing a *décor composé* with the help of artists who would follow his directives. In this specific case, the process of selecting the material for the series (*ekloge*) and of assembling it in a carefully chosen order (*synthesis*) may inform us, albeit in a very oblique manner, on what we totally ignore, namely the expectations of Hellenistic rulers for the arrangement and presentations of their real *dactyliothecae* and collections (Prioux, 2008). That Hellenistic rulers did own such *dactyliothecae* is made clear by Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxvii.11) who informs us that one of the very first *dactyliothecae* known in Roma was initially owned by Mithridates VI and brought to Roma by Pompeius Magnus. The same passage shows that owning a *dactyliotheca* was likely to be perceived, in Roma, as a way to imitate Hellenistic rulers: as Plinius states, the word *dactyliotheca* clearly resounded as a noun borrowed from Greek, for want of a Latin word expressing the same idea. Although the word *δακτυλιοθήκη* is never used in the Greek sources that have come down to us, it is probably only an effect of the loss of Hellenistic texts. The evidence that we have from Plinius and now from Poseidippos suggests that gem cabinets that may have appeared as new and “foreign” in the eyes of Pompeius Magnus’ Roman contemporaries had in fact been known for a long time in Hellenistic kingdoms.

* I wish to thank Kathryn Gutzwiller and Vincenzo Saladino for their very useful remarks on earlier versions of this paper. Kenneth Lapatin had the generosity to provide me with the forthcoming results of his researches on Gnaios.

Poseidippos even goes so far as to play with his readers' ability to form a mental image of an imaginary gem cabinet and to understand how the stones that he mentions in his epigrams may relate to the political programme of the Ptolemaioi.

As we will see, the model provided by Poseidippos' *lithika* may also be relevant for later rulers: other poets, stimulated by his very example or by the reading of other such poetic cycles, may have sought to present possible patrons with similar series of ekphrastic poems and "imaginary cabinets". It has been shown that the *lithika* section, or at least part of it, survived until the Imperial period (Hutchinson, 2002; Magnelli, 2005) and that some of the epigrams that it contains were still available in the age of Iustinianus I (Magnelli, 2005).

In this chapter, I would like to show that Poseidippos' *lithika* were probably read by a client king and client queen in the age of Augustus and that the poetic *dactylitheca* that Poseidippos had composed for one of the first Lagid queens was still an influential work in the Early Imperial period. As a possible testimony of the culture and art of the early Ptolemaic dynasty, this poetic cycle and the collection it describes may have provided an interesting model and source of inspiration for the new kings and queens who were eager to represent and promote their own power with the help of the epigrammatists and artists who worked for them. This paper is thus designed as an invitation to reconstruct part of the "imaginary cabinets" invented by poets who, in later times, followed the example of Poseidippos. As such, this example contributes to our understanding the complexity of collecting practices in the Ptolemaic period and how these related to later Roman collecting attitudes and trends.

This paper will argue that Poseidippos' *lithika* were studied and possibly imitated by epigrammatists who may have worked for Juba II and Kleopatra Selene II and by the poet known through the *anthologia graeca* as "King Polemon", that is to say Polemon Eusebes (Polemon I, King of Pontos), or Iulius Polemo (Polemon II; on both possibilities, see Gow & Page, 1968: II, 401). These client kings and the client Queen Kleopatra Selene II share common features: Juba II and Kleopatra Selene were both educated in Roma under the protection of Octavia – which means that they were in close contact with the cultural innovations of the artists and poets who worked for the imperial family (on Juba, see Schettino, 2002). Polemon II of Pontos was partly raised in Roma by Antonia Minor, daughter of Marcus Antonius, along with the young Caligula, the grandson of Antonia Minor (Adams, 2007: 110–111). Juba II and at least one of the two kings called Polemon of Pontos

were scholars: still preserved are two epigrams ascribed to a King Polemon; King Polemon I was the son of the rhetor Zenon of Laodikeia on the Lykos and Juba was of course a historian, an art historian and the author of treatises on natural history used as sources by Plinius, Ploutarkhos and Ailianos. Finally, Kleopatra Selene and Polemon II were also linked by their parentage since Kleopatra Selene II was the daughter of Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra VII, Queen of Egypt, while Polemon I, an ally of Marcus Antonius, married the general's granddaughter Pythodoris; the couple's daughter, Antonia Tryphaina, was the mother of Polemon II (see von Bredow, in *Brill's New Pauly*, 2007, II, s.v. Polemon [4: P. Eusebes] and [5: Iulius P.]).

These rulers were thus raised in similar *milieux* and had been in close contact with the Augustan reception of Alexandrian art and Alexandrian glyptics; they were also likely to have inherited intaglios and cameos cut for their parents and ancestors and to have read Poseidippos' *lithika* or similar Hellenistic epigrams on gems because of their personal interest in gem collections and in the culture and history of the Alexandrian court. For all these reasons, the client King of Pontos and the client Queen of Mauretania may have been interested in the possibility of composing new epigrams on gems and to do so with an eye to the symbolic meaning of the works of art preserved in their collections.

An Epigram by Addaios and a Cameo Signed by Tryphon

The *anthologia graeca* provides us with epigrams on intaglios and/or cameos that were possibly (and in some cases certainly) connected with these client kings of Roma or with the epigrammatists who worked under their patronage. My first example is *anthologia palatina* ix.544 (Gow & Page, 1968 [Addaios 9]):

Ἴδ' ἡν βήρυλλον με Τρύφων ἀνέπεισε Γαλήνην
εἶναι, καὶ μαλακαῖς χερσὶν ἀνῆκε κόμας·
ἦν ἰδε καὶ χεῖλη νοτερὴν λειοῦντα θάλασσαν,
καὶ μαστοὺς, τοῖσιν θέλγω ἀνηνεμῖν.
ἦν δέ μοι ἡ φθονερὴ νεύση λίθος, ὥς ἐν ἐτοίμῳ
ῶρμημαι, γνῶση καὶ τάχα νηχομένην.

l. 3: the word λειοῦντα was conjectured by Jacobs; the manuscript tradition gives πλείοντα which does not make sense.

Tryphon convinced me, an Indian beryl, to be Galene, the goddess of Calm, and with his soft hands he let my hair flow down my back. Look at my lips smoothing the *windy* sea, and my breasts with which I make the winds magically disappear. Did the envious stone but consent, you would soon see me swimming, as I am ready to do so.

It is not hard to see that Tryphon's work, as described in this epigram, has nothing to do with the iconographic type that has been traditionally labelled as "Galene" since Furtwängler first proposed this identification at the turn of the 20th century (1900: I, pl. xxxv: 13). The epigram indeed states that Galene's breasts are to be seen on the stone, which is not the case with the sea-nymph or goddess shown on the so-called "Galene" series (see Richter, 1956: 38–39, who still accepts Furtwängler's identification; *contra*, see Boardman, 1968: 32; Vollenweider, 1966: 11, 26; Plantzos, 1999: 89). The so-called "Galene" type is also known in Roman coinage, on the *denarii* of Q. Crepereius issued in 72 BCE. Numismatists identify her with good arguments as an Amphitrite (Sydenham, 1952: cat. nr. 796). Vollenweider (1966: 11, 26) believes on stylistic grounds that at least some of the so-called "Galene" gems are connected with the activity of a gem-cutter called Skopas.

It seems, at least at first glance, rather difficult to say anything about the author of this epigram. A small number of epigrams of the *anthologia graeca* are ascribed by their lemmata either to an Addaios of Makedonia, or to an Addaios of Mytilene, or simply to Ad(d)aios (with one or two d's). All these epigrams have been published by Gow & Page in their volume on the *Garland of Philip*, an anthology of Greek epigrams that was set together by Philippos of Thessalonike under the reign of Nero and that included poems composed between the early 1st century BCE and the middle of the 1st century CE. There are, however, no firm arguments for thinking that all the epigrams ascribed to authors called Ad(d)aios initially belonged to Philippos' *Garland*. For example, *anthologia palatina* vii.305, a funerary epigram, is the only poem in the series to be ascribed specifically to Addaios of Mytilene and it could well have been written by the Addaios of Mytilene who composed a treatise on sculptors (περὶ ἀγαλματοποιῶν) in the second half of the 3rd century BCE (Reitzenstein, 1893: *RE* I, 1, "Adaïos", col. 342; Gow & Page, 1968: 11, 13; Dorandi, 1999: xcvi–ci). If this hypothesis is right, this specific epigram could not have been part of Philippos' *garland*, but was probably taken from Meleager's *Garland*, an earlier anthology composed at the turn of the 1st century BCE.

Despite his clear interest in figurative arts, Addaios of Mytilene was probably not the author of the ekphrastic epigram on Tryphon's beryl, an epigram ascribed by the lemma to Addaios *tout court*. It has indeed been noted that *anthologia palatina* ix.544 appears in a series of epigrams that form an alphabetic sequence within the *anthologia graeca* (the initials of the first words of each epigram in the series are arranged in alphabetical order): this particular feature singles out *anthologia palatina* ix.544 and its neighbours as a sequence probably stemming from Philippos' *Garland*, since Philippos used alphabetic order, along with other principles of classification, as a way to arrange the epigrams he chose to include in his anthology. In fact, an alphabetic series runs from *anthologia palatina* ix.541 to *anthologia palatina* ix.562, with the only exception of ix.547. These observations allow us to think that the Addaios who described Tryphon's beryl was indeed one of the authors included in Philippos' *Garland* and that he lived in the 1st century BCE or in the early 1st century CE.

Several intaglios bear the signature of an artist called Tryphon, but it appears that most of these signatures are modern forgeries, carved on ancient or modern intaglios in order to make them all the more valuable in the eyes of potential buyers and collectors. Only one of these signatures seems worthy of attention, even though there has been an ongoing debate about its authenticity since the 19th century (Stephani, 1851: 4; Brunn, 1889: II, 313, 431–433; Vollenweider, 1966: 36–37; Boardman, 2009: 9 and 31, cat. nr. 1). One can read the inscription ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ in the upper part of a large cameo depicting a scene of initiation that involves the couple formed by Eros and Psyche [fig. 5.1], the "Marlborough gem". Some scholars have believed that the mythological scene was itself a modern forgery (on the state of this question, see Boardman, 2009: 30–31), but the most recent studies on its iconography seem to confirm that it was actually designed in the 1st century BCE (Vollenweider, 1966: 36–37; Micheli, 2008) or in the 1st century CE (according to Boardman, 2009: 31, 34, cat. nr. 1). As a matter of fact, scenes of initiation involving *erotes* are known on other precious artifacts designed roughly in the same period, such as the Herculaneum 'throne' (see Linant de Bellefonds, 2008). Even though the image is now believed to be ancient, the signature's authenticity is still questioned, as one can easily see in John Boardman's recent catalogue of the Marlborough gems. Scholars already began to express doubts about its authenticity in the 19th century and to suspect Renaissance or early 17th-century scholars of having manipulated this gem in order to make it more precious; a first and obvious suspect was of course Pirro Ligorio who had this gem in



FIGURE 5.1 Wedding of Psykhe and Eros, cameo signed by ΤΡΥΦΩΝ. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession nr. 99.101 "Marlborough gem" (© BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS).

his hands in the late 16th century (Brunn, 1889: II, 432). Another, rather implausible suspect from my point of view, would be Peter Paul Rubens who actually owned the Marlborough cameo in the early 17th century. It has seemed reasonable, at least in the eyes of some scholars, to believe that one of them used Addaios' epigram as a source in order to conjure up an otherwise unknown engraver: Tryphon. According to this view, inscribing on the cameo the name of an ancient artist named in a Greek poem would have made it a welcome addition to the collection of any scholar or erudite collector.

Fortunately, conclusive evidence has been recently provided by M.E. Micheli's discovery (2008) of a letter written in 1572 by Costanzo Felici to Ulisse Aldrovandi. This letter mentions as the result of a recent excavation in Sentinum the discovery of a cameo bearing the inscription ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. This newly found document thus narrows down

the possibilities of intervention that we can surmise for a modern *falsarius*. If the inscription is modern, we are now forced to believe that it was inscribed very shortly after the cameo's discovery. I would like to add that this new piece of evidence in fact *proves* that no modern scholar was ever involved in engraving this signature. If the inscription was present on the cameo in 1572, it can be proved to be authentic, since Addaios' epigram could not have been known by modern scholars before the rediscovery by Saumaise, in 1606, of the manuscript of the *anthologia palatina*. The only part of the *anthologia graeca* that was known to 16th-century scholars was the *anthologia planudea* and this collection does not include Addaios' epigram, which means that the signature on the Marlborough cameo was in fact the very first testimony ever known to modern scholars on the existence of a gem engraver called Tryphon. The existence of such an artist

was then confirmed in the 17th century by the rediscovery of the *anthologia palatina*.

That the inscription is indeed ancient does not necessarily mean, of course, that it is authentic in the sense that it was actually written by an artist named Tryphon. We do know of many ancient “false signatures” in which an anonymous artist signs his work – sometimes a copy of a more famous work of art, and sometimes not – by using the name of a much more renowned artist (see, for instance, Squire, 2011: 297–300, esp. 298 n. 165, who discusses the many cases in which gems are signed with artist names which are likely to be pseudepigraphic signatures [“Phidias”, “Scopas”, etc.], but also considers Tryphon’s signature as one of these forgeries). Despite this well-known phenomenon, I believe that the signature of the Marlborough cameo is fully authentic since we do not know of other ancient forgeries involving the name of Tryphon. The scarcity of ancient testimonies mentioning his name (we know only of two documents: the Marlborough cameo and Addaios’ epigram) shows that he was not one of the most famous engravers and that his name would probably not occur so easily to ancient *falsarii* eager to provide an intaglio or cameo with more value.

Other Cameos by Tryphon and Sostratos: The Power of Eros and Dionysos

The work of the artist who engraved the Marlborough cameo – and whom I believe to be really the Tryphon known to Addaios – has been compared, on the basis of stylistic arguments and thematic similitudes, to that of another engraver, specialized in cameos and whose works are signed – or not – with the name Sostratos. Vollenweider believes that Sostratos worked for the court of the last Hellenistic rulers of Alexandria and notes possible references to Marcus Antonius in the iconographic themes chosen by Sostratos and his co-workers (Vollenweider, 1966: 32–36 and plates 23–27; Spier, 1992: 154; Micheli, 2008). The most relevant example may be a cameo preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. nr. 25863, in Gasparri, 1994, cat. nr. 32) [fig. 5.2]. This miniature work of art, attributed to Sostratos or his workshop on a stylistic basis, shows a Herakles with individualized features possibly indicating that it is in fact a portrait. A baby Eros plays on the hero’s shoulder, as an allegory of the power of Love: Eros is able to subdue even the very symbol of Force (see the epigram by Marcus Argentarius, *anthologia palatina* ix.221 quoted *infra*, p. 67). This image has been interpreted – whether



FIGURE 5.2 Herakles subdued by Eros, cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25863 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI NAPOLI E POMPEI).

rightly or not – by several scholars, and most notably Vollenweider, as a representation of Marcus Antonius as Herakles struck by the power of Love (Vollenweider, 1966: 36 and n. 61; Vollenweider, Avisseau-Broustet, 2003: 35, cat. nr. 31, with earlier bibliography; Micheli, 2008; *contra*, see Ritter, 1995: 79–81). Another cameo, in the Museo Archeologico di Firenze (nr. 14440), illustrates a very similar theme: this time, the cameo shows four Erotes playing with Herakles’ club [fig. 5.3]. This composition has, I believe, a close parallel in a Pompeian painting (House of the Prince of Montenegro: VII Ins. Occ., 10, triclinio [6?]) that shows Omphale, a drunken Herakles in a position typical of drunken *satyroi*, and four *erotes* trying to lift the hero’s club (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 9000). Even though the general theme seems common and even hackneyed, the work is of exceptional quality and bears some stylistic similarity to that of Sostratos and, above all, to the Marlborough cameo. These common features have suggested that this cameo should be attributed to Tryphon (Vollenweider, 1966: 36–37).



FIGURE 5.3 Four Erotes playing with Herakles' club, *cameo attributed to Tryphon. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze, inv. 14440. (© SOPRINTENDENZA PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DELLA TOSCANA – FIRENZE).*

A further illustration of the same theme occurs on a cameo [fig. 5.4] in the British Museum (inv. nr. 1890,0601.37). This cameo, ascribed to Sostratos by Vollenweider (1966: 33) indeed represents Eros and a chariot drawn by a couple of big cats (apparently male and female). Sometimes identified by scholars as panthers connected to Dionysiac imagery (a mistake that is easily explained because of their posture and the shape of their noses – which are both characteristic of Dionysiac “panthers”), these big cats are more likely a lion and lioness. Even though real female lions do not have manes, they are commonly represented with manes in Egyptian art and, quite often so, in Greek art: the mane is used to distinguish the species of the lion, whereas the animal's gender may be indicated through the presence of a cub or of a mammary chain. The presence of a mammary chain, along with the differences in the shape and length of the mane, seem to indicate, in the present case, that both animals are of different genders. A pair of lions drawing a chariot under the guidance of Eros is probably a symbol of the power of Love which is able to subdue mighty and savage lions – that is to say, once again, a symbol of Force. This image thus refers to Eros *Pandamator* –



FIGURE 5.4 Eros guiding a chariot drawn by a pair of lions, *cameo signed CΩCTPATOCY. British Museum, London, accession number 1890, 0601.37 (© THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM (AN00356838)).*

Eros who subdues everything. This cameo bears a signature (“CΩCTPATOC” not “COCTPATOCY” as indicated on the museum website) which has been engraved underneath and not above the image. Although this positioning is absolutely normal and common for signatures on gems, we will see that Sostratos and Tryphon sometimes signed differently, giving their signatures a prominent and remarkable place above the image. Both engravers are thus singled out among other gem-cutters by their way of sometimes signing their cameos above the iconographic field. The signature on the London cameo may therefore seem a little different from other Sostratos inscriptions and, as a matter of fact, its authenticity has raised doubts among scholars. I would, however, tend to consider it as genuinely ancient on the grounds of the thematic and stylistic coherence between this work and the ones I have mentioned earlier: the choice of representing Eros and a chariot drawn by a pair of male and female creatures, as well as details such as Eros' hairdo (which resembles to the *mainas'* hairdo on one of the Getty cameos (The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 85.AN.175), or to the *kentauris'* bun on the Sankt-Peterburg cameo) and the design of the feathers on his wings (which recalls the Eros about to burn and torture Psykhe on another cameo also attributed



FIGURE 5.5 Eros torturing Psyche with a torch, cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze, inv. 14445 (© SOPRINTENDENZA PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DELLA TOSCANA – FIRENZE).

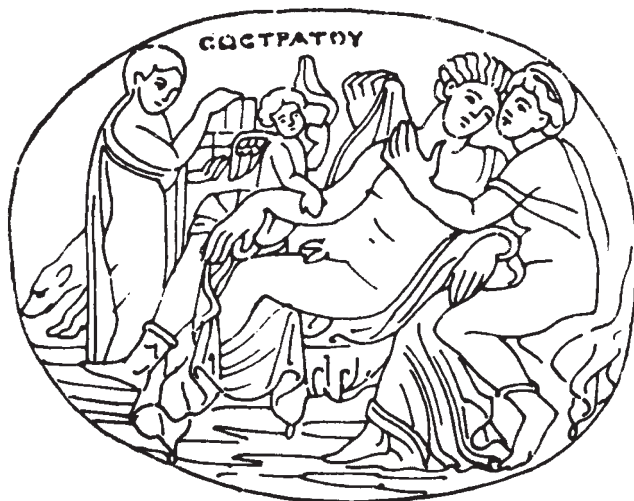


FIGURE 5.6 Aphrodite and Adonis, cameo signed CΩCTPATOY. From the Sangiorgi collection; present location unknown. Drawing after the publication by Sangiorgi.

to Sostratos – Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, nr. 14445 [fig. 5.5]). Delicate effects of transparency as well as use of the drill for tiny details of the face, hairdo and manes recall other works ascribed to Sostratos. It also seems to me that this signature, if it were modern, must have been engraved with some knowledge of the authentic signature on the Nike/Aurora cameo, since one can distinguish similar features such as the spacing between the letters and the shape of certain characters. In this inscription, as in the Tryphon inscription, the Nike/Aurora inscription and the Sangiorgi inscription [fig. 5.6], the letter P has a tiny belly, suggested mainly by the presence of a large dot (*puntello*); in all three complete signatures of Sostratos that can be read on ancient cameos (the British Museum inscription, the Nike/Aurora inscription and the Sangiorgi inscription), both *lineolae* located at the extremities of the letter Ω are replaced by a deep and large dot (on the palaeography of Sostratos' signatures, see Sangiorgi, 1933). We will also see, from a fragmentary inscription on a cameo in Napoli (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 25846 in Gasparri, 1994, cat. nr. 77 – see below p. 62), that Sostratos did not always sign above the iconographic field, but that the location of his signature varied from one piece to another.

A further cameo [fig. 5.7], now in the Getty, was attributed to Tryphon by J. Boardman (1968: 41 and 100, cat. nr. 60). It shows two *erotes* with a trophy. The theme is, once again, that of the power of Love, but the trophy introduces a military and political dimension that could allow us to think of an image linked, this time maybe not to Marcus Antonius, but rather to imperial propaganda of the Augustan period or, in a more personal manner, to the imperial family of the Iulii as the *erotes* bear some similarity to those on a frieze from the Temple of Venus Genetrix (Boardman, 1968: 41).

Among the works ascribed to Sostratos, one may cite a cameo representing the chariot of Aurora or Nike (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 25844 = Gasparri, 1994, cat. nr. 29), possibly made on the occasion of a specific historical event (either a victory of Caesar or of Marcus Antonius, see Vollenweider, 1966: 34, n. 34) [fig. 5.8]. Although ancient artists rather used to engrave their signatures underneath the scene, one can notice that the signature (CΩCTPATOY) has been engraved above the head of one of the horses, a feature that recalls the peculiar setting of the signature on the Marlborough cameo. Both cameos also share stylistic qualities, which induces us to think that we are not dealing with signatures that would only be ancient forgeries, engraved by anony-



FIGURE 5.7 Erotes erecting a trophy on a base, cameo attributed to Tryphon. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 2001.28.8 (© THE BEAZLEY ARCHIVE).

mous artists eager to provide greater value to their own creations, but that we are really dealing with the authentic signatures and works of a coherent pair of artists, Sostratos and Tryphon, who shared the same aesthetic preoccupations, possibly worked together, and even occasionally signed their works in comparable ways – with signatures that were preferably set, in an unusual manner, above the image and that shared specific palaeographic features (such as letters formed by little dots connected to each other). Finally, one may cite a further example testifying the coherence of the series and that tends to confirm, through the convergence of clues stemming from separate contexts, the authenticity of Sostratos' signature on the Nike/Aurora cameo. This piece of evidence, a cameo showing Adonis and Aphrodite, was once in the Sangiorgi collection (Sangiorgi, 1933: 290–294): the signature of Sostratos (CΩCTPATOY), formed of very small dots connected to each other, is engraved in the upper part of the cameo, above the iconographic field. Vollenweider (1966: 33, n. 47) believes that this piece was connected to a pos-

sible revival of the cult of Adonis (a cult especially linked, in Alexandria, to Arsinoe II: see Theokritos, *eidyllia* 15) under Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra.

Eros and Dionysos were, apparently, the favourite themes of these artists as demonstrated by a large number of works ascribed to or signed by Sostratos in the collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli with erotic and dionysiac themes (Gasparri, 1994, cat. nrs. 7, 8, 29–34, 77, 199). Childish figures of gods (*erotes*, *paniskoi*) often occur in their works, as well as a reclining couple and/or a character bound, detained or tormented by others and/or a chariot. Figures expressing strong feelings are represented thanks to a recurring *Pathosformel*: many figures have their arm raised above their head, often as a sign of Dionysiac abandon (see for instance British Museum, cameo with a *mainas*, a *silenos* and a *satyros* [?], ascribed to Sostratos by Vollenweider: 1966, 34, pl. 25, 1 and 2). The various figures of the scene are, moreover, often linked to each other by a complex play on the directions in which they are looking: some figures look back to



FIGURE 5.8 Nike/Aurora on a chariot, cameo signed CΩCTPATOY. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25844 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI NAPOLI E POMPEI).

others and the looks and postures often answer each other to create effects of symmetry or parallelisms within the composition. One may, for instance, cite a cameo in the J. Paul Getty Museum (inv. 85.AN.175, Spier, 1992: 154, cat. nr. 428) showing Pan who, with his hands bound by a little *mainas*, fights against a he-goat that is restrained by a small *satyros*. Another cameo, coming from the Content collection, shows a drunken *silenos* reclining next to a *psykhe* on a chariot drawn by two *erotes* whose stocky legs seem characteristic of the childish figures engraved by Sostratos and Tryphon (Henig, 1990 [cat. nr. 120]; Spier, 1992: 154; for further characteristics of Sostratos' and Tryphon's works, see Vollenweider, 1966: 34; Boardman, 1968: 38, cat. nr. 58: "The use of the drill on hair and features, the sensuous rendering of bodies and limbs are hallmarks of his style").

All the works that I have just mentioned are unsigned, but have been attributed to Sostratos or his workshop. This is also the case for a cameo in Sankt-Peterburg (The State Hermitage Museum, inv. nr. Ж 282 Vollenweider, 1966: 35, pl. 23, 5) that shows a triumph of Dionysos on a chariot drawn by a pair of *kentauroi* (a male and a female). An element of confirmation concerning the attribution of the Sankt-Peterburg cameo comes from a fragmentary cameo in Napoli [fig. 5.9] which also shows a pair of *kentauroi* and the beginning of the signature CΩ (for CΩ[CTPATOY]?)



FIGURE 5.9 Two Kentauroi, fragmentary cameo signed CΩ[CTPATOY] (?). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25846 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI NAPOLI E POMPEI).



FIGURE 5.10 Dionysos on a chariot drawn by two Psykhai, cameo attributed to Sostratos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inv. nr. 25840 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI NAPOLI E POMPEI).

(Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 25846 in Gasparri, 1994, cat. nr. 77, attr. to Sostratos by Vollenweider 1966: 33): these *kentauroi* (again a male and a female) may have been, once, part of a triumph of Dionysos similar to that of the Sankt-Peterburg cameo.

The erotic Dionysiac imagery recurs on another cameo attributed to Sostratos: this cameo, now in Napoli [fig. 5.10], shows two Psykhai whose bilobated wings with two dots resemble closely to the bilobated wings with four dots of the Psykhe on the Marlborough cameo (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 25840 in Gasparri, 1994, cat. nr. 30). These Psykhai are drawing a chariot, just as the *kentauroi* of the Sankt-Peterburg cameo, the *erotes* of the Content cameo or the lion and lioness of the British Museum cameo. A triumphant Dionysos is reclining on the chariot in the company of Ariadne, while a small Eros spurs the Psykhai with a torch – a motive reminiscent of one of the cameos attributed to Sostratos that are now in Firenze (Museo archeologico nazionale, nr. 14445: Psykhe punished by Eros – ascribed to Sostratos). As for the hierogamy of Dionysos and Ariadne, it may of course recall the hierogamy of Eros and Psyche on the Marlborough cameo. It is also possible to note, as in the other cameos attributed to the same workshop, the complexity of the positions and gestures of the various figures and the delicate craftsman-

ship with which the transparency, folds and movements of the draperies have been represented in the various layers of the stone.

This brief survey of some of the major works attributed to Sostratos and Tryphon shows, I hope, the stylistic and thematic homogeneity of the series (on Sostratos' style, see Spier, 1992: 154). This homogeneity suggests that both artists belonged to the same circle or that they even were co-workers. Sostratos and Tryphon tried to represent the universal power of Love and were interested in designing variants of the triumph of Dionysos that sometimes confronted the couple formed by Dionysos and Ariadne with the couple formed by Eros and Psykhe. The themes in which they were most interested were of course very common towards the end of the Hellenistic period. It has also been noted by several scholars that the mythological themes treated by Sostratos and Tryphon closely resemble the ones that Marcus Antonius used for the purpose of self-representation: the triumph of Dionysos and Herakles subdued by Eros (on Marcus Antonius' use of the image of the lion, which may be a reference to the big cats that draw Dionysos' chariot as well as a reference to Herakles, see Cicero, *Philippicae* ii.24,58, ii.24,61; *ad Atticum* x.13,1; Plinius, *naturalis historia* viii.55; Plutarkhos *Marcus Antonius* 9; Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] xlv.28; Vollenweider 1966:

33; Abry 1992; on Marcus Antonius as a New Herakles, see Ploutarkhos *Marcus Antonius* 4.1–3, 60.3; Vollenweider, 1966: 34 and n. 61; Zanker, 1990: 59–60; Ritter 1995: 81–85; Zanker, 1999: 122–123; Ritter, 1995: 70–87; Oehmke, 2000: 196–197; Vollenweider – Avisseau-Broustet, 2003: 35 (cat. nr. 31); on Marcus Antonius as a New Dionysos, see Velleius Paterculus, *historia Romanae* ii.82.4; Ploutarkhos, *Marcus Antonius* 60.3 and 71; Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] 1.5.3; Zanker, 1990: 57–58; Ritter, 1995: 76–77). The very high quality of these cameos also suggests that they were designed for the elite and that their engravers were trained in a very active artistic *milieu*. For all these reasons, Vollenweider thinks that both artists received their training in Alexandria, worked for the court in the third quarter of the 1st century BCE, possibly for Kleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius (Vollenweider, 1966: 32–33; Giuliano in Dacos, Grote & Giuliano *et al.*, 1980: 28–29, 44–48), and transferred themselves to Italy after the fall of Alexandria (Vollenweider, 1966: 36).

Sostratos and Tryphon may have worked for the imperial family (Vollenweider, 1966: 36–37, however with weak evidence), which could account for some of the themes that Tryphon apparently treated, such as the trophy raised by two *erotes* (see *supra* p. 60 and fig. 5.7). Micheli's recent discovery of Felici's letter to Aldrovandi has provided a further argument that may confirm the idea of a link between Tryphon and Marcus Antonius. Felici's letter indicates that the cameo was discovered during excavations in Sentinum. Micheli argues that such a refined and high-quality work could only belong to the elite, which could mean that it was in the hands of a member of Sentinum's local aristocracy. Micheli (2008) therefore suggests a link with the Fulvii, who were probably the most famous family connected to Sentinum towards the end of the Republican period. Following Vollenweider's idea according to which Tryphon had worked for Marcus Antonius or at least for the account of people who were eager to promote the image of Marcus Antonius, Micheli suggests that the cameo may have belonged to Fulvia, wife of Marcus Antonius, and that this top quality jewel that represents a mystic hierogamy between Eros and Psyche may even have been designed for a special occasion such as the wedding of Marcus Antonius and Fulvia. A possible explanation for the loss of such a masterpiece in a small city such as Sentinum would be that it was lost during the Battle of Perugia in which Fulvia certainly played a major role and during which Sentinum was totally destroyed.

Even if this hypothesis could account for the presence of the cameo in Sentinum, it is of course impossible to say if Micheli is right in reconstructing a link between the

Marlborough Cameo and the wedding of Marcus Antonius and Fulvia. I personally believe that, in the absence of a consistent body of proofs, we ought to remain very cautious about such reconstructions.

What interests me most in Vollenweider's and Micheli's work on Tryphon and Sostratos is that it helps us to contextualize the activity of both engravers and suggests that they were both active in the third quarter of the 1st century BCE. The stylistic analysis of the cameos thus unexpectedly provides us with a context, or at least a rather compelling hypothesis about the context in which Addaios wrote his epigram on Tryphon's Galene. In my view, this epigram must have been composed in a period in which Tryphon was still famous: his name must at least have been meaningful for the epigram's intended readers. I believe that the period in which Tryphon was famous did not last for long, since we do not know of other literary testimonies on this engraver and we know of only one cameo bearing his signature (even though we know of several intaglios inscribed with the name Tryphon, the Marlborough cameo appears to be the only surviving work with an authentically ancient signature engraved by this artist: all other Tryphon signatures are clearly modern forgeries, inspired by the Marlborough cameo and/or by Addaios' epigram). We can thus assume that Tryphon's name never reached the level of enduring glory that would have induced ancient artists to borrow his name and produce false Tryphon cameos with false signatures. For this reason, I do believe that Addaios' epigram is more or less contemporary with Tryphon's activity or that it was initially commissioned by a person for whom Tryphon's work was meaningful and who probably owned one of Tryphon's masterpieces. I would thus argue that Addaios' epigram in fact leads us on the track of a prestigious *dactylitheca* of the Augustan period. The many Tryphon and Sostratos cameos discovered in Italy do suggest that both artists worked (at least at some point in their career) on Italian soil and probably for members of the Roman elite.

A difficult piece of evidence can be found in the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc (see, in Rooses – Ruelens, 1907: nr. DCLXX, an undated note by Rubens, with no indication of addressee, but probably sent to Peiresc in 1630: Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9532): the painter apparently owned a cameo representing the portrait of Octavian wearing a laurel-wreath and inscribed with the signature COCTPATTOY [*sic!*] behind the ruler's head. Unfortunately the loss of the cameo prevents us from determining whether the signature was authentic or not, if there truly was an O mistaken for Ω on the stone, and, if so, if we should consider this signature as a modern forgery made up by a modern engraver. The mention of

this apparently prestigious cameo in Rubens's correspondence has led some scholars to believe that Sostratos and Tryphon, initially formed in Alexandria and linked to the Alexandrian court, would have worked, at a later stage in their career, for the imperial family (Spier, 1992: 154). If so, both engravers could have been part of the Alexandrian milieu that was transferred to Roma after the fall of Alexandria, possibly along with some important members of the Lagid dynasty – such as Alexandros Helios and Kleopatra Selene, the twin children of Kleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius, who were brought to Roma by Augustus, when they were about ten years old, in order to parade as captives in the triumph (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] li.21,8), but were then generously educated by Octavia (Ploutarkhos, *Marcus Antonius* 87,1–2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 17,5) as if they were members of the imperial family.

Galene's Gem and the Celebration of Alexandrian Craftsmanship?

I would now like to return to Addaios' poem and its possible context in Philippos' *Garland*. In the alphabetic sequence of Philippos' *Garland* from which Addaios' epigram seems to stem, the poem on Galene is followed immediately by an epigram in which the poet Krinagoras addresses a Marcellus, probably the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus (*anthologia palatina* ix.545). The epigram's speaker presents Marcellus with a papyrus containing Kallimakhos' *Hekale*, which the epigrammatist describes as a chiselled (*toreuton epos* – on this term, see Faber, 2000) and charming work (this epigram may have been commissioned by someone who wanted to offer an edition of the *Hekale* to Marcellus). This epigram, that compares the *Hekale* to a masterpiece of Hellenistic toreutics, praises a poem considered as the perfect expression of Alexandrian subtlety and refinement (*leptotes*). I would argue that, by setting Addaios' epigram together with Tryphon's Galene and Krinagoras' epigram, Philippos not only follows alphabetical order, but also invites his readers to consider the possible similarities between the cameo (or intaglio) and the *epyllion*. He may have considered them as two parallel expressions – a visual one and a poetic one – of Alexandrian *kharis* and miniature craftsmanship.¹ One may also add that the expression “shaking out all the sails” in the sec-

ond line of Krinagoras' epigram links to the Galene figure of Addaios' epigram. In both epigrams the first line contains the subject of the work and the artist's/poet's name.

The implicit comparison that the new epigrams by Poseidippos establish between the art of the poet and the art of a gem-cutter induces us to think that Philippos of Thessalonike may have played on the same sort of comparisons between the sister arts. By setting together both epigrams, he suggested to his readers that Tryphon's work shared some qualities with Kallimakhos' *Hekale* and that the *Hekale* was like a miniature masterpiece cleverly designed by a skilled master of the precious arts – a gem-cutter or a toreutician. The pairing of the cameo and the *epyllion* may have been intended to epitomize Alexandrian subtlety and charm.

Did Kleopatra Selene Commission the Writing of Epigrams on Gems and Cameos?

Interestingly, we know certain details about the career of Krinagoras: it can be deduced from his epigrams that he worked in Roma for the imperial family, and also that some of his poems were written for Kleopatra Selene and her husband Juba II. For instance, Krinagoras wrote about the wedding of the Lagid princess and the client King of Mauretania (*anthologia palatina* ix.235) and also praised the late Kleopatra Selene in an epigram written after her death (*anthologia palatina* vii.633). Krinagoras thus worked for two courts at least: the imperial court of Augustus and the court of Juba II. That Juba II and his Lagid wife commissioned or were presented with newly composed epigrams seems most interesting: did the descendant of Ptolemaios II try to emulate her early ancestors in protecting poets and artists and in playing an active role in the commission of new cultural productions? Were Kleopatra Selene and Krinagoras thinking of models such as Arsinoe II and Poseidippos? Had Kleopatra Selene sought to revive, in Kaisareia (Cherchell), the way in which the first Lagidai had transformed Alexandria into one of the major cultural capitals of the Hellenistic world? Other pieces of evidence do indeed suggest that the model of the first Lagidai was seminal for the new King and Queen of Mauretania: Juba II and Kleopatra Selene probably studied with utmost attention the traditions concerning Selene's 3rd-century ancestors (on Juba II, see Roller, 2003: 76–90, 139–144, 151–152, 158–159 and 192–196; Prioux/Trinquier, forthcoming. On Kleopatra Selene, see Di Marco, 2000: 302 and n. 52 with references to earlier bibliography).

¹ I wish to thank K. Gutzwiller for calling my attention on these further similarities between both poems.

I wonder if the connection established in Philippos' *Garland* between Addaios' epigram and Krinagoras' epigram should not encourage us to think that both poets were somehow linked to each other, perhaps because they worked for the same court(s). Would it be possible to think that Kleopatra Selene, eager to imitate Arsinoe II and Berenike II, had asked one or more epigrammatists to write *lithika* for her, just as Poseidippos had done for Arsinoe II (or possibly for Berenike II; an interest of Kleopatra Selene in the life of Berenike II is made all the more likely by the fact that she received, as a child, Kyrene as a gift from her father Marcus Antonius [Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* {*Rhomaïke historia*} xl.41,3])? Gems, jewels and cameos are of course an excellent symbol of dynastic transmission which is likely to interest all rulers involved in creating or recreating a dynasty.

The topic of Tryphon's cameo (or intaglio) may indeed recall one of the favourite themes of early Lagid propaganda: Alexandrian rulers had often been represented by poets and artists as rulers of the sea, who were able to control the winds and to ensure the prosperity and safety of seafarers. Arsinoe II was honoured as Aphrodite Zephyritis (see Lelli, 2001 [2002]: 23–24; see also Müller [2009: 206–249] on Poseidippos 39 A.–B. and the *anathematika* section of the “New Poseidippos”) and the Lighthouse of Alexandria suggested that Ptolemaios Soter and Berenike I, the late royals of Alexandria, were the Saviours (*Soteres*) of the seafarers. According to Strabon (xvi.1,6) and Loukianos (*pos dei historian syngraphein*. 62), the Lighthouse's inscription presented this new wonder as an offering to the *Theoi Soteres*; Chapouthier convincingly argued that this dedication was a purposely ambiguous expression, probably chosen because it could refer, on the one hand, to the Dioskouroi as traditional protectors of navigation and, on the other hand, to the new *Theoi Soteres*, the late parents of Ptolemaios II (Chapouthier, 1935: 255). As a matter of fact, the *kolossoi* discovered in the 90's near the Lighthouse (near the Fort of Qaitbay) and that were originally set in the direction of the open-sea may have represented the couple formed by Ptolemaios I and Berenike I, which tends to confirm that they were also seen as deities protecting sailors and ships (see Guimier-Sorbets, 2007, with earlier bibliography).

The topic of the Galene epigram – a representation of the Goddess of the calm sea – can thus seem reminiscent of earlier Ptolemaic propaganda. Interestingly, its phrasing does also seem to be reminiscent of Poseidippos' *lithika*. The mention of an “Indian beryl” at the very beginning of the poem is possibly an echo of the opening of Poseidippos' *lithika*, whose first word is Ἰνδός (a beryl is mentioned further in the *lithika*: see Poseidippos 6 A.–B.)

I now wish to turn my attention to the other epigrams that may be ascribed to Philippos' *Garland* and that describe jewels and intaglios. Do some of them have to do with a possible revival of interest in the *lithika* subgenre in the Augustan period? Can any of them be related to the figure of Kleopatra Selene?

An epigram that may be ascribed either to Meleagros' or to Philippos' *Garland* celebrates an intaglio that depicts Methe, the personification of Drunkenness, and belongs to Queen or Princess Kleopatra:

Εἰμὶ Μέθη τὸ γλύμμα σοφῆς χειρός, ἐν δ' ἀμεθύστῳ
γέγλυμμαι τέχνης δ' ἡ λίθος ἀλλοτρίῃ.
ἀλλὰ Κλεοπάτρης ἱερὸν κτέαρ· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάσσης
χειρὶ θεὸν νήφειν καὶ μεθύουσιν ἔδει.

I am Drunkenness, the work of a skilled hand, but I am carved on the sober stone amethyst. The stone is foreign to the work. But I am the sacred possession of Kleopatra: on the queen's hand even the drunken goddess should be sober. (Asklepiades of Samos or Antipatros of Thessalonike, *anthologia palatina* ix.752; translation by W.R. Paton.)

This epigram can be found both in the Palatine and Planudean anthologies; the Palatine ascribes it to Asklepiades of Samos, an author active in the early 3rd century BCE and closely imitated by Poseidippos. The Planudean ascribes it to an Augustan author closely linked to the imperial family: Antipatros of Thessalonike. If the epigram is by Asklepiades, it can only concern a jewel owned by Kleopatra, sister of Alexandros the Great who died in 309/308 BCE (for this dating and ascription, see Galli Calderini, 1982: 239–280; Gutzwiller, 1995; Sens, 2011: xxviii, 301–303, 306–308). If written by Antipatros, it would rather concern Kleopatra Selene herself who was the contemporary of this epigrammatist (Cameron, 1995: 291–294; Di Marco, 2000: 302; Argentieri, 2003: 196–199) and the wife of Juba II, whose scholarship on gems and mineralogy was apparently impressive (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.24, xxxvii.69, xxxvii.73, xxxvii.108, xxxvii.114).

Both datings have been argued for by eminent specialists of the two epigrammatists concerned. In favour of the earlier dating, one may cite the interest that the 4th century BCE has shown in the personification of Methe (Drunkenness): Methe is a character in Menandros, a figure within a group by Praxiteles (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiv.69) and possibly the topic of a painting by Pausias that Pausanias (ii.27,3) claims to have seen in the Asklepieion of Epidauros (on the possible relationship between

this painting and a number of 1st-century BCE intaglios depicting a naked woman drinking from a cup, see Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992: 562–564). It is unclear, though, whether this painting was originally meant to represent Drunkenness. Musti and Torelli (1986 [2008]: 302) have indeed pointed out the incongruity of setting a picture of Drunkenness in a sanctuary of Asklepius and rather think that the figure was unnamed and possibly represented one of the daughters of Asklepius (drinking a medicine?). In this view, the figure would have been reinterpreted (maybe in the Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial period) as a depiction of Methe, because of the knowledge that ancient scholars had of one (or more) epigram(s) describing Methe drinking from a cup. Another and stronger argument in favour of the ascription of the Methe epigram to Asklepiades was given by Gutzwiller (1995), who notes the remarkable stylistic similarities that this epigram has with Asklepiades' poem on Antimakhos' *Lyde*.

On the other hand, good arguments also speak for the ascription to Antipatros of Thessalonike: first of all, in the *anthologia palatina*, this epigram concludes a series of *ekphraseis* of intaglios (*anthologia palatina* ix.746–751) that were all composed in the Imperial period (see Argentieri, 2003: 197; for a different view, see Sens, 2011: 301, “its placement in the *Anthology* offers no evidence of authorship”) and is closely paralleled by another epigram of imperial date (*anthologia palatina* ix.748, a poem ascribed to Platon the Younger). Second, this epigram seems to respect the metrical preferences shown in other poems by Antipatros. Third, it would certainly have been welcome if written in praise of Kleopatra Selene who played on the Dionysiac symbolism used both by her father Marcus Antonius and by the entire Lagid dynasty. Another argument used by Di Marco was that one actually knew of an amethyst representing Marcus Antonius, the father of Kleopatra Selene, and bearing the signature of Gnaios, a distinguished gem-cutter (J. Paul Getty Museum – inv. nr. 2001.28.1). However, this last argument should now be abandoned, as was made clear by K. Lapatin in a presentation at the Archaeological Institute of America (“Archaeological Forgeries: Why Fakes Matter”, Philadelphia, 2009):² the amethyst in the Getty is now considered as a modern forgery, carved by Giovanni Calandrelli (ca. 1819) as a pendant to a carnelian intaglio now in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910; inv. nr. 10.110.1), a work actually engraved and signed by Gnaios. This other gem

represents a female character, with a sceptre at the nape of her neck – which possibly means that she is a royal. Although this other gem has sometimes been called by modern scholars “Kleopatra” and even “Kleopatra Selene”, this identification is not supported by any hard evidence, but probably stems from the epigram itself and from the comparison between this gem and what was supposed to be the portrait of Marcus Antonius carved by the same artist on an amethyst until K. Lapatin's recent reexamination of these stones.

It is my belief that, even though we cannot argue any longer for a relationship between Kleopatra Selene and the Getty amethyst, there are still good reasons to believe that the Methe epigram was written for her by Antipatros of Thessalonike. For instance, the personification of Methe may recall the Galene epigram which we have shown to have been written by one of Kleopatra Selene's contemporaries. Both poems could indeed fit with the propaganda of a client queen who, like Galene and Arsinoe-Aphrodite-Zephyritis, probably endeavoured to protect the seafarers of Kaisareia and was the daughter of a new Dionysos. One can also speculate on the reasons for which the double ascription of this epigram exists. Could it be that an epigram by Asklepiades was closely imitated by Antipatros of Thessalonike as appears to have happened in other instances (see Sens, 2011: 334–340) and that the close similarity between the Augustan epigram and its late Hellenistic source resulted in a certain amount of uncertainty about which was which?

Another epigram, by Marcus Argentarius (*anthologia palatina* ix.221), describes a signet-ring engraved with the image of Eros driving a chariot drawn by lions.

Αὐγάζω τὸν ἄφυκτον ἐπὶ σφραγίδος Ἑρωτα
 χερσὶ λεοντείαν ἀνιοχεύντα βίαν,
 ὡς τῇ μὲν μάστιγα κατ' αὐχένος, ἧ δὲ χαλινούς
 εὐθύνει· πολλὰ δ' ἀμφιτέθηλε χάρις.
 φρίσσω τὸν βροτολογιόν· ὁ γὰρ καὶ θῆρα δαμάζων
 ἄγριον, οὐδ' ὀλίγον φείσεται ἀμερίων.

I see upon the signet-ring Love, whom none can escape, driving a chariot drawn by mighty lions. One hand menaces their necks with the whip, the other guides the reins; about him is shed abundant bloom of grace. I shudder as I look on the destroyer of men, for he who can tame wild beasts will not show the least mercy to mortals. (*anthologia palatina* ix.221, translation W.R. Paton)

² I wish to thank K. Lapatin for letting me know of the results of his research on these gems.

The epigram explains the meaning of this image, which, much like images of Herakles subdued by Love, would illustrate the power of Love: all-mighty Eros is even able to control and tame lions. Even though images of Eros and lions are very common, it may be useful to note that this motif appeared to be especially meaningful for Sostratos and that we do know of a cameo with a possibly authentic Sostratos signature that represents a closely resembling motif (Eros next to a chariot drawn by a pair of lions). Could it be that Marcus Argentarius was induced to write this epigram because the motif, with its allegorical use of mythological iconography, was especially relevant in his own time? Could it be that one of his patrons cherished an intaglio with a similar representation? We know next to nothing about Marcus Argentarius, except that he lived in the 1st century BCE or the first half of the 1st century CE, since Philippos included him in his *Garland*. And yet, Seneca the Elder mentions a witty student of rhetoric called Argentarius as a disciple of Cestius Pius. Given the rarity of the *cognomen* Argentarius and Seneca's insistence on the wit of Cestius Pius' student, this Argentarius could well be our epigrammatist. If so, Marcus Argentarius should be considered as a contemporary of Ovid (Seneca, *controversiae* ix.3,12–13, see for instance Gow & Page, 1968: II, 167; Hörschele & Gagné, 2009: 58, n. 6). If so, could he have been part of a project, perhaps commissioned by Kleopatra Selene, a client queen of Alexandrian descent, who apparently had good reasons to be interested in having contemporary epigrammatists reviving the early Hellenistic *lithika* subgenre and in celebrating in poetry the works of Tryphon and Sostratos, two engravers perhaps closely associated to the last years of the Ptolemaic court? The motif on the signet-ring described by Marcus Argentarius would certainly have been very meaningful for her, since images of Herakles or lions struck by Eros or Aphrodite were apparently used by Alexandros himself (Loukianos, *Herodotos*, 4–6; Oehmke 2000: 187–188), by the early Lagid queens (Prioux & Trinquier, forthcoming) and by or against Marcus Antonius (see above, pp. 63–64). On the other hand, images of the power of Venus and Eros (Venus and Mars, *erotes* with trophies) were also used for self-promotion, though differently, by the Iulii (see, for instance, Zanker, 1990: 195–201) and therefore by the milieu in which the ten-year old princess was raised after arriving in Roma. For a poet like Marcus Argentarius, this motif could have been a way to join political discourse (the poet chose a topic that would easily recall images and ideas that had become common in Late Republican and Early Imperial propaganda) to poetic discourse: the image that he depicted bears some similarity to Vergilius' *omnia uincit Amor* (*eclogae* x.69) – a phrase considered

as a kind of “motto” of Roman love elegy (cf. Ovidius, *ars amatoria* i.21, see Volk, 2002: 167–168). The image of triumphant Love could fit well in a *recusatio* and as an excuse for focusing on erotic topics.

Another epigram (*anthologia palatina* ix.776), by Diodoros the Younger – whom we know to have been Strabon's friend and therefore Augustus' contemporary – describes a piece of rock crystal bearing a painted portrait of an Arsinoe (maybe Arsinoe Philadelphos if we want to see, in this epigram, an homage to an “ancient” masterpiece preciously kept in a (royal?) *dactyliotheca*, or Arsinoe IV – sister of Kleopatra VII, co-regent of Egypt for a very brief period of time and declared enemy of her sister):

Ζεύξιδος ἡ χροὴ τε καὶ ἡ χάρις· ἐν δὲ με μικρῇ
κρυστάλλῳ τὸ καλὸν δαίδαλον Ἀρσινόῃ
γράφας τοῦτ' ἔπορεν Σατυρήϊος. εἰμὶ δ' ἀνάσσης
εἰκῶν, καὶ μεγάλης λείπομαι οὐδ' ὀλίγον.

The colour and the beauty is worthy of Zeuxis; but Satyreus painted me on a little crystal and gave the pretty miniature to Arsinoe. I am the queen's own image, and no whit inferior to a large picture. (Translation by W.R. Paton)

This epigram confirms the strong interest of Early Imperial poets in Alexandrian precious arts (glyptic, toreutics, miniature painting) and possibly their interest in the poetic and glyptic masterpieces of the Early Hellenistic period. It seems to me that the term ἀνάσσης (at the end of line 3) provides linkage to the Methe epigram: did the two epigrams work as *companion pieces* in some anthology or poetic collection? If we accept the possibility of a link between the activity of Kleopatra Selene as a new patron for the sister arts and this renewed interest of Early Imperial epigrammatists both in *lithika* epigrams and in Ptolemaic queens and ideology, Arsinoe IV would certainly be a less interesting candidate than Arsinoe Philadelphos.

Even though it remains impossible to know if all these poems that stem from various epigrammatists were composed in the same context, we may consider this series as an important testimony on the political and intellectual elites of the Early Imperial period. The vast majority of these epigrams were probably composed in the years in which Augustus and his family were commissioning cameo portraits designed by Dioscorides and shortly before this favourite gem-cutter designed the complex representations of the imperial family that attempted to prove, in a miniature visual form, that Tiberius was the true and

legitimate heir of Augustus. Could it be that Kleopatra Selene, a Lagid princess who had been raised in the imperial milieu and who had seen, with her own eyes, how Augustus and his family used cameos, had asked to the poets who worked for her to celebrate in a series of epigrams a *dactyl-iotheca* – real or imaginary, but in any case full of motives that were deeply meaningful in her eyes and in those of her contemporaries.

As a possible parallel to this series of epigrams, I would like to mention, finally, the case of another client king who was not only a ruler, but an epigrammatist. The *anthologia graeca* indeed preserves two epigrams ascribed to a “King Polemon”, either Polemon I or Polemon II who both ruled Pontos. As I have already said, both kings are somehow linked to Marcus Antonius. Polemon I was Augustus’ exact contemporary and Polemon II followed a path somehow similar to that of Kleopatra Selene, since he was educated, for some time, in Roma and under the protection of Antonia, apparently in the very years in which the young Caligula stayed with his grandmother.

One of these two kings wrote at least two *lithika* epigrams – the only two survivors of what was probably, once, a larger and organized single-authored cycle (*anthologia palatina* ix.746 and xi.38). *anthologia palatina* ix.746 describes a jasper engraved with the image of cows in a cow pen:

Ἐπτά βοῶν σφραγίδα βραχὺς λίθος εἶχεν ἴασις,
ὥς μίαν, ὥς πάσας ἔμπνοα δερκομένας.
καὶ τάχα κἄν ἴαπέρεψε τὰ βοΐδια· νῦν δὲ κέκλειται
τῇ χρυσῇ μάνδρᾳ τὸ βραχὺ βουκόλιον.

This little jasper stone has a seal of seven cows looking like one, and all looking at us as if alive. Perhaps the cows would have run away, but now the little herd is confined in the golden pen. (Translation W.R. Paton)

M. Squire has recently proposed a metapoetic reading of this poem (Squire, 2010: 622–624): according to him, King Polemon’s epigram implicitly plays on the many epigrams celebrating Myron’s *Cow*. Multiplying the cows hints at the many copies and variations, both poetic and visual, on the famous original by Myron. Duplication and multiple copies and variations are part of what *mimesis* (imitation) is. *Mimesis* of course refers to the imitation of nature in art, but it also refers to the practice of copying/imitating earlier artists/poets as a seminal part of learning and practising art and poetry. In Squire’s view, King Polemon implicitly compares the many epigrams on Myron’s *Cow* that Early Imperial epigrammatists knew very well to some

kind of “cow pen” full of cows. Polemon’s epigram could thus be interpreted as a symbol for a poetic collection and was possibly used by its author as an opening or closing poem – that is to say a *sphragis* – in some lost poetic cycle. It can be mentioned that the image of a cow pen had already been used in a similar way by Artemidoros of Tarsus in order to refer to a series of bucolic poems edited together (*anthologia palatina* ix.205). If correct, Squire’s hypothesis provides linkage between King Polemon’s epigram on the cow pen and Poseidippos’ *lithika*: in both cases, poems on stones and intaglios were indeed used as metapoetic symbols (see the bibliography cited, *supra*, p. 54).

Another relic of Polemon’s lost *lithika* is *anthologia palatina* xi.38, the description of a sardonix engraved with the typical belongings of a beggar (the epigram is preserved both in the *anthologia planudea* – with no ascription – and in the *anthologia palatina* – with the lemma Πολέμωνος βασιλέως):

Ἡ πτωχῶν χάρισσα πανοπλίη ἀρτολάγυνος
αὕτη, καὶ δροσερῶν ἐκ πετάλων στέφανος,
καὶ τοῦτο φθιμένοιο προάστιον ἱερὸν ὅστεῦν
ἐγχεφάλου, ψυχῆς φρούριον ἀκρότατον.
“Πῖνε”, λέγει τὸ γλύμμα, “καὶ ἔσθιε καὶ περίκεισο
ἄνθεα· τοιοῦτοι γινόμεθ’ ἐξαπίνης.”

This is the poor man’s welcome armour against hunger – a jar and a loaf, here is a crown of dewy leaves, and this is the holy bone, outwork of a dead brain, the highest citadel of the soul. “Drink”, says the sculpture, “and eat, and surround thee with flowers, for like to this we suddenly become”. (Translation W.R. Paton)

This miniature *ekphrasis* of a precious jewel thus paradoxically plays on the theme of poverty (of course, such a gem could not itself belong to a beggar!) and on Cynic philosophy. A gem, known to Gori and now lost, apparently bore an inscription corresponding to the last distich of this epigram [fig. 5.11] (Gori, 1726–1743: III, app. 21–22; *CIG* iv 7298; Kaibel, 1878: nr. 1129; Dunbabin, 1986: 215). Of course, the loss of this object and the fact that we have no mention of it before the 17th century now prevents us from establishing with certainty if it was or not the work of a modern *falsarius*. Personally, and because of the lack of comparanda, I believe that this object is the work of a modern engraver and that it was probably inspired by the *anthologia graeca*: the epigram is preserved both in the *anthologia palatina* and in the *anthologia planudea*, which means it was known from editions of the late 15th

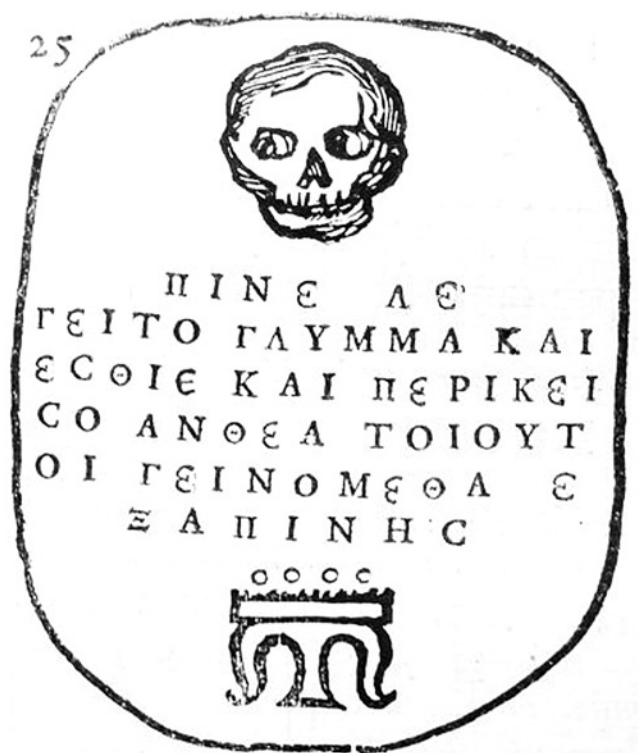


FIGURE 5.11 Intaglio engraved with a skull and a Greek distich by “King Polemon”: modern forgery? *Present location: unknown* (GORI, 1726–1743: III, APPENDIX, 21).

century and could have inspired the making of a modern intaglio already in the Renaissance period.

If we turn back to the epigram itself, it is interesting to note how a member of the intellectual and political elite, explicitly labelled as a king in the epigram’s *lemma* (which probably means that this was the name under which Philippos himself knew this epigrammatist), chose to describe a gem linked to the Cynic motif of the beggar. For its viewers, this gem (real or imaginary) conveyed a very clear message: *carpe diem*. For modern readers, it may bring to mind the famous mosaic found in Pompeii (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nr. 78289; from Pompeii, ins. 1.5.2, *triclinium*) which equates the king and the beggar, implying that both will be perfect equals after their death (on the meaning of this allegorical image, see Brendel, 1980). That an epigram evoking death and the humble figure of the beggar was written by a poet of royal rank suggests that this epigram was, just as the one on the cow pen, a kind of *sphragis*: the epigram is especially effective because we know it to have been written by a king. For Polemon, it may have served as a means for self-representation: Polemon presented himself as a king who was utterly conscious that he would become, after death, the equal of the most humble of beggars.

As a conclusion, I would like to suggest that Polemon, a client king of Roma, had composed a cycle of epigrams meant to evoke a *dactyliotheca* and that this *dactyliotheca* may have been fully imaginary or based (even partially) on works that the king actually owned. In a similar way, and though the evidence is scarcer than in Polemon’s case, a client queen – Kleopatra Selene – may have commissioned the writing (by different epigrammatists) of a series of epigrams on cameos and intaglios. If this hypothesis is correct, Poseidippos’ *lithika* would have probably been an important model for the Early Imperial writers and for their elite patrons and there are, indeed, signs that they were alluded to in some of the Early Imperial *lithika* poems. The client kings of the late 1st century BCE (or of the 1st century CE if we admit that Polemon II is the “King Polemon” referred to by Philippos) may have tried to imitate the kind of engagement in artistic and poetic creation that Early Hellenistic rulers, and especially the Lagidai, apparently had: it seems, indeed, that Arsinoe II and Berenike II were peculiarly keen on protecting poets, such as Poseidippos who designed an “imaginary gem cabinet” for one of them (probably Arsinoe II) or his rival, Kallimakhos, who wrote several poems praising these queens. Interestingly, the epigrams that the poets designed as “imaginary gem cabinets” could circulate and thus spread the fame of a king or queen, celebrate his/her taste and his/her power, whereas the real *dactyliothecae* were bound to stay at a specific place and could probably be seen only on specific occasion and by a small number of privileged guests. And yet, these epigrams were bound to be separated from each other at some point: some of them would be copied in new collections of poems, some of them would even enter Philippos’ *Garland* and eventually survive into modern times, but, as a result, the initial collection would be scattered and the initial meaning of the poems and of the works of art that they described would become even more difficult to decipher.

The similarities between “King Polemon”’s epigrams and what I believe to be a cycle designed for Kleopatra Selene should not, however, keep us from noticing their differences. The epigrams that I have singled out as possible echoes of an Early Imperial interest in Ptolemaic imagery and as a possible revival of Early Hellenistic propagandistic motives seem to fit with the personality of a queen who wanted to represent herself as the true heir of her Lagid ancestors: a figure able, like Galene and Arsinoe Philadelphos, to smooth the sea and protect seafarers, or to drink without becoming drunk, as if she were the daughter of Dionysos himself! Her imaginary “gem cabinet” was thus designed in order to present its reader with

a political message that needed to be deciphered with a view to Ptolemaic iconography and political ideology. On the other hand, “King Polemon” truly presents himself as a poet and acts as a poet who perfectly knows how to convey a metapoetic message through the *ekphrasis* of a work of art, or to use the image as a way to illustrate an ethical *gnome*. Both his poems can be read as *sphragides* and one of them clearly points to his very specific identity as

a king-poet. The way in which he revives the tradition of *lithika* epigrams is thus rather different from the path chosen by the epigrammatists who were, as I believe, invited by a specific patron to celebrate the works of Alexandrian engravers and gem-cutters, both contemporary and Early Hellenistic, and to take a fresh look at a miniature gallery of miniature portraits of Lagid queens.

The Culture of Collecting in Roma: Between Politics and Administration

Paolo Liverani

The culture of collecting in Roma is a subject which has attracted the attention of scholars for a long time for its connection to the penetration of Hellenistic culture in Roma and, at the same time, to the political and economic expansion of the city. The origins of the phenomenon, indeed, can be identified in the stream of works of art that came from the conquest of the Mediterranean East (Strong, 1973; Carey, 2003: 79–91). Even in earlier times, during the conquest of the Italian peninsula, booty that included works of art was common and at least part of them were dedicated in sanctuaries of the city. Just to mention one of the most famous cases, consider the bronzes from Volsinii dedicated in 264 BCE by Marcus Fulvius Flaccus in the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta near Sant’Omobono (Torelli, 1968). The importance, fame and quality of the works of art taken from the Greek East, however, were much greater and the phenomenon was part of a wider process of evolution of Roman society, in which the new models progressively diverged from the traditional culture.

The information about the arrival in Roma of the result of these conquests and the evolution of the collecting phenomenon are dispersed among a large number of sources. Of course the more systematic text which nobody can ignore is the *naturalis historia* of Plinius, who lists about one hundred and fifty works of art on display in Roma in less than fifty different locations, usually public monuments or at least places open to a select audience (Gualandi, 1982: Appendices A, B). Scrolling through the list (Gualandi, 1982: Appendix C), it is easy to observe that the most frequent location of sculptures and paintings is a temple or a religious complex. There are the temples of the Capitoline Hill, the Aedes Concordiae and the other temples of the Roman Forum, the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and finally the numerous temples of the Campus Martius.

Other locations are places of political or dynastic interest. Among the former are the Rostra of the Roman Forum, the Comitium, the Curia Iulia and the Regia, but of course also the Saepta Iulia in the Campus Martius. Among the latter, we could list some sacred spaces such as the temples of the Divus Iulius and of the Divus Augustus, the imperial palace on the Palatine, as well as the Domus

Aurea and the House of Titus, which was his dwelling before he became emperor. After the recent identification of the find spot of the *Laokoon* (Volpe & Parisi, 2009), the sculptural group that was his most celebrated piece of art, this house should be placed on the Esquiline Hill.

Finally we should mention some public places with official functions such as the Imperial Fora – particularly the Forum of Augustus and the Templum Pacis – or in the Campus Martius the Baths of Agrippa and the Theatre of Pompeius Magnus with the adjacent *porticus* (Castagnoli, 1982: 124–125; Liverani, 1989: 156 n. 40). A special case is that of the Monumenta Pollionis, the collection opened to the public by Asinius Pollio, the location of which is contested. There are indeed those who place it within the Atrium Libertatis, behind the Forum of Caesar, in the area later occupied by the Forum of Traianus, but it is better to site it in the Horti Asiniani on the Via Appia, an area later occupied by the Baths of Caracalla, where during the Renaissance the *Farnese Bull* was found, the greatest among Asinius’ sculptures (Grimal, 1984: 156; La Rocca, 1998: 228–239). We can compare this case to that of the sculptures in the Horti Serviliani, which in recent years have been fixed near the Vatican area (Steinby, 2003: 20–21). From the time of Nero they were an imperial property decorated by Praxiteles’ statues representing *Flora*, *Ceres* and *Triptolemus*, the seated *Hestia* by Skopas, the Kalamis’ *Apollon*, the *Boxers* by Dercylides and the portrait of Kallisthenes by Antistratos (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.23, xxxvi.25, xxxvi.36).

The picture is fairly predictable: as the distribution map of Plinius’ data shows, the most famous collections are all in the central public areas. Of course the temples were privileged as anyone could offer a dedication there, unlike what happened in places of political importance or particularly representative spaces, which were subject to senatorial or imperial control. As a consequence, places with a political connotation received more meditated offerings – so to speak – since they did not derive from the initiative of a single private citizen, but rather are the expression of the will of a significant group – if not of all – of the citizens. This pattern is comparable with that common in Greece, where the dedications begin within the shrines and temples while those in politically important

places appear at a later time, starting with the dedication of the Athenian group of the *Tyrannicides* (Hölscher, forthcoming).

In the latter case the dedications seldom consist of famous works of art, but more often of triumphal spoils, as with the beaks of the ships of Antium and Carthago on the tribune of the Rostra and the column of Caius Duilius, or as with statues by unknown authors, but with an evident symbolic meaning due to their iconography, so that I would hesitate to consider them as part of the collecting phenomenon in a strict sense.

An observation of a different type concerns the status of the work, which changes considerably once the system of triumphal spoils has been established. With some simplifications, in the pre-collecting phase – so to speak – a sculpture or a painting was generally commissioned to a contemporary artist for a specific purpose – an honorary monument, a memorial one or a public building – and consequently with clear indications and purposes on the part of the patron. On the contrary, the choice of the place for works from war booty, or acquired on the market, concerned sculptures and paintings which already had a series of dimensional, formal and historical constraints, that restricted or directed potential reuse in a new location.

From a semiotic point of view the works obtained as spoils of war imply a reference to a place and a time different from that of the creation of the work, for instance the conquest of a city. In this way a second level of meaning – e.g. the commemoration of a victory – was superimposed on the original meaning – e.g. a mythological representation or the memory of a historical figure – and on aesthetic values – e.g. the fame of a renowned sculptor. This over-determination, or hyper-codification, can obscure or conceal the original meaning.

For instance Plinius expressly admits that the author of the statue of *Hercules* dressed in a tunic on the Rostra in the Roman Forum was no longer known; he was also struck by its unusual iconography – which apparently nobody could explain. On the other hand he is able to report in detail the various steps of its recent history, recorded by three successive inscriptions mentioning its presence among the spoils of Lucullus, its dedication by the general's son, its return to the public enjoyment after a probably abusive privatization (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.93).

A sort of desemantisation (Courtés, 1992: 240; Greimas, 1991: 176–177) occurs: the specific meaning goes out of focus and only a more generic one remains. The *Apoxyomenos* is no longer the monument of a wrestler with a personal

identity, dedicated on the occasion of a victory in a specific competition: it becomes the statue of an athlete, an illustrious sample of the art of Lysippos, suitable to decorate the area in front of the Baths of Agrippa (Bravi, 2012: 137–139). Even in the case of the Monumenta Pollionis the memory of the sculptors survives – among them were Praxiteles, Skopas and Kephisodotos, perhaps mentioned by inscriptions – but the provenance is lacking for almost all of them. The specific meaning and the original function of the sculptures went lost; only the artistic value and the iconography and style were preserved, allowing us to read these sculptures according to the categories of the *decor* (Hölscher, 2004: 22–23; Bravi, 2012: 9–27) in the new context into which they were transferred.

In extreme cases it could happen that interpretations of dubious origin cover and replace the original meaning in order to explain *a posteriori* one feature or another of which the memory went lost. This is the process anthropologists call iconatrophie (Vansina, 1985: 10, 44–45, 157–158, 187–188), attested for instance in Roman imperial age writers' readings of some archaic Greek sculpture, as shown by Catherine Keesling (2005; cf. also Liverani, forthcoming).

In short: the interpretation of the figurative program of collections and their political and ideological values needs to take into account the shift of meanings and contexts, a process that sometimes has quite a rapid evolution.

On the other hand we should not underestimate the importance of other elements intimately connected to the phenomenon of collecting, which are not always treated specifically in the studies, but which deserve close attention because of their implications. At first glance these elements could look like mere antiquarian curiosities or technical details of minor importance. I am thinking more specifically about issues related to the management and administration of such collections, a subject on which we unfortunately have scarce and controversial evidence.

At the beginning of the last century a lively discussion addressed the topic (Detlefsen, 1901; Detlefsen, 1905; Hauser, 1905; Beaujeu, 1982). Detlefsen hypothesized the existence in Roma of *censor* lists, administrative inventories maybe used as sources for those parts of the *naturalis historia* where Plinius describes the works of art in Roma. Hauser, instead, even considering probable the existence of inventory lists of gifts in temples and public collections, considered it unlikely that they recorded data of interest to archaeologists or art historians.

More recently, the issue was revived in a rich and stimulating article by Adriano La Regina (1991), who re-examined a number of epigraphic indications engraved

on statues of high quality or on their bases, all known for a long time, and proposed a new global interpretation. We may start from these data: for this purpose I will briefly quote the examples discussed by La Regina and will interpret the abbreviations according to his proposal:

1. Base of the bronze statue dedicated to Hercules by M. Minucius Rufus in 217 BCE, from Roma near the basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (*CIL* 1² 607 cf. *CIL* 1² p. 918 = *CIL* VI 284 cf. *CIL* VI p. 3004, 3756 = *ILLRP* 118 = *ILS* 11 = *AEpig* 1991, 211a = *Suppl. It.* – Roma 1, 135; La Regina, 1991: 5 nr. 1).
On the left side of the tufa block:
(In) *l(ibro)* I, (*loco*) XXVI
«In the first volume, nr. 26»
2. Bronze horse from Roma, Vicolo dell'Atleta, Greek work (Helbig, 1966: nr. 1582 [von Steuben]; Stuart Jones, 1926: 174 nr. 8; La Regina, 1991: 6 nr. 3; Parisi Presicce, 2007: 46–47, figs. 21–32; Parisi Presicce, 2013: 174–175, 179 n. 21, figs. 177–178).
On the left thigh:
(In) *l(ibro)* I, (*loco*) XXIX
«In the first volume, nr. 28»
On the left shoulder, engraved with dots:
C
La Regina interprets this letter as an abbreviation: (*ad templum*) *C(astoris)* «to the temple of castor», or (*ad*) *C(ircum)* «to the Circus»; Parisi Presicce suggests also *C(apitolium)*.
On the right shoulder, engraved with dots:
XIII
La Regina considers this number as a possible second inventory.
3. Bronze statue of the “Terme Ruler”, Roma, Museo Nazionale delle Terme (De Lachenal, 1979; Himmelmann, 1989: 126–149, 205–206 nr. 4; La Regina, 1991: 6–7 nr. 4).
On the belly:
(In) *l(ibro)* VI, *p(agina)* L, (*loco*) XXIX
«In the sixth volume, page 50, nr. 28»
On the right leg three letters engraved with dots and ligatures:
MAR
La Regina interprets this abbreviation as (*ad templum*) *Mar(tis)*: «to the temple of Mars»
4. Base of a statue of Iuppiter dedicated by the emperor Tiberius in 7 BC from Roma, Piazza Sant'Apollinare (*CIL* VI 385; *ILS* 95; La Regina, 1991: 7 nr. 5).
On the left side in the lower part:
l(oco) CCXLVI
«Nr. 246»
5. Base of a statue of Iuppiter dedicated by Quintilius Varus in 13 BC from Roma, Piazza Sant'Apollinare (*CIL* VI 386; *ILS* 88; La Regina, 1991: 8 nr. 9–10).
On the left side in the lower part:
lo(co) DXXVIII
lo(co) CCXLIX
«Nr. 528
nr. 249»
In this case we have two numbers due perhaps to a replacement, a displacement or a correction.
We can add at least one further case to the examples collected by La Regina:
6. Statue of the wounded Amazon by Polykleitos, copy signed by Sosikles, from a villa on the Via Tuscolana two miles before Frascati (Stuart Jones, 1912: 296–297, Salone 33, tab. 72; Helbig, 1966: 197–199 nr. 1393 [von Steuben]; Liverani, 1996; Loewy, 1885: 290 nr. 434; *IG* XIV 148*; *IGUR* 1586).
Σωσιλῆς ON
(The N is inscribed in the O)
Winckelmann (1825: 101) considered the letters after the name of the artist as a numeral and Stuart Jones speculated that it was an inventory number of the collection. In this case, however, it would have been a private collection.

Several other sculptures or bases are also known on which single letters might provide a clue to lost inventories, but it is not useful here to add so meticulous a list. We could mention lastly the letters on the collars and on the hooves of the bronze horses of Venice (Guidi Toniato, 1981: 119 figs. 143–148), but it is likely they were inscribed in modern times.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the interpretation of the abbreviations offered by La Regina. According to this author there would have been a record in multiple volumes – which he proposes to call *Tabulae signorum* – dedicated to cataloguing the artistic heritage of the city of Roma. The abbreviations would refer to the volume (*liber*), to the column (*pagina*) and to the number (*locus*) of the list. The entry would have included information about the dedication – donor, place of origin, collecting history – and could be a source for Plinius. This procedure dates back to quite an early moment in the Republican age, as suggested by the dedication of Minucius Rufus and by the palaeography of the inventory number on the *Terme Ruler*.

For the earliest periods the obvious comparison can be drawn from the inventories of Greek sanctuaries (Guarducci, 1969, II: 189–327; Linders, 1988; Dignas, 2002) and for the late-republican period we can quote Cicero's orations against Verres, which demonstrate the presence

of inventories in Syracuse – called *litterae publicae* – listing the works of art by place of conservation, as well as the legal obligation that bailees account for them (*rationem e lege reddere*: Cicero, in *Verrem* ii.4,140).

Some additional considerations allow us to deduce indirectly the presence of official inventory lists in the late Republic, considering the sources regarding some transfers of statues displayed in public places (Stewart, 2003: 128–136). M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 BCE took away from the area around the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill the statues that hindered passage (Livius xl.51,3) and in 158 the *censores* P. Cornelius Scipio and M. Popilius removed from the Forum all the statues of former magistrates “except those which had been erected by decree of the senate or the people” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.30). To decide which were authorized they could perhaps rely on the inscription of dedication, but a safer criterion would be to consult the public inventory. During the early empire, Augustus had a number of statues that again had crowded the Capitol moved to the Campus Martius. Caligula even destroyed them, arrogating to himself the permission for the erection of additional honorary monuments (Suetonius, *Caligula* 34). Claudius moved many honorary statues from public places and decreed that private dedications required authorization by the Senate, except in the case of statues which were part of the decoration of public buildings funded by the honouree himself (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lx.25,2–3).

We must assume that the keeping of the inventories was a responsibility of the *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum* (Beaujeu, 1982), but we know also that in special cases temporary functions could be attributed for specific situations to other magistrates. For instance, on 68 CE Gnaeus Iulius Agricola was appointed by Emperor Galba as praetor *ad dona templorum recognoscenda* (Tacitus, *de vita et moribus C. Iulii Agricolae* 6,6; Mommsen, 1887, ii.3: 443), that is to review the gifts offered to the temples, considering the need of a reordering after the fire of 64 and the abuses of Nero. A few years later, after another fire devastated the Capitol and the Campus Martius, Emperor Titus destined the *ornamenta* – that is statues, painted tables and luxury furnishings – from his own suburban estates to decorate temples and public monuments, appointing members of the equestrian order to oversee the reconstruction (Suetonius, *Titus* 8,10). In 153 CE the *lex* of the college of Aesculapius and Hygeia (*CIL* vi 10324 = *ILS* 7213) mentions a knight, Fl(avius) Apollonius, who had been *proc(urator) Aug(usti) a pinacothecis*, a special assignment for some specific and temporary needs not easily identifiable. In Late Antiquity we know

a *curator statuarum* of senatorial rank documented by an inscription of CE 336–337 (*CIL* vi 1708 = 31906 = 41318 = *ILS* 1222 = *LSA* 1416) and, in the 5th century, by the *notitia dignitatum* (iv.12–14, ed. Seeck: 114). To this point we will return shortly.

Let us now examine the inventories of the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity. Some inventories were preserved through epigraphic attestation: the best known is that of the *fanum* of Isis and Bubastis in Nemi (*CIL* xiv 2215 = *ILS* 4423) – not far from Roma – which lists the *res traditae*, that is the patrimony of votive gifts and cult objects of the two sanctuaries, consisting of statues, precious vessels, clothes and ornaments, listed in a very synthetic way and without particular descriptions.

A couple of examples were discovered in two African towns: Cirta (*CIL* viii 6981–6982 *add.* pp. 965, 1847) – ancient Constantina – and Carthago (*CIL* viii 12496). The first is particularly interesting because it gives us the technical term that designates inventories: *synopsis*, a word of Greek origin very rare in Latin. It appears in contexts with a strong legal and administrative connotation: it is used by Ulpianus in the Digest (Iustinianus, *digesta Iustiniani Augusti* xxvii.9,5,11) for the inventory of the property of a minor (“iubere debet edi rationes itemque synopsis bonorum pupillarum”) as a guarantee against abuses in the administration of the patrimony by the legal guardian. The term is used also in the rescript of 386 CE sent by Valentinianus II, Theodosius and Arcadius to the prefect of the city of Roma Sallust concerning the rebuilding of the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura: the emperors ask for a *synopsis operis construendi*, including the project’s bill of analytical costs (Günther, 1895: 46–47 nr. 3). The inscription of Constantina describes in more detail the main statue, that of Iuppiter Capitolinus, listing only the attributes in the hands and on the head of the god, as well as the gems with which it was decorated, in order to allow the verification of any damage or theft, then without an artistic or historical purpose. The second document from Carthago, instead, is fragmentary and does not add much to what is already known.

Some papyri provide additional documentation: the most important – currently in Geneva (Nicole, 1906; *ChLA* vol. I, 1954: nr. 11) and dating between the mid-2nd century CE and the Severan period – preserves a Latin text with a list of works: the first part probably lists statues followed by bas-reliefs. The subjects are generally Roman gods, but there are also Serapis, Anubis and Isis. It contains some proper names (*Atilius* l.5, *Nero* l.9, *Sila[n]us* l.23), possibly records of donors or past owners, and perhaps the hint of a transfer (*migratio*). The mention of an *Herculem G[---]is* made somebody think it was the statue of *Hercules* signed

by Glycon, that is the *Farnese Hercules*, and has even led to the hypothesis that this document was the inventory of the sculptures of the Baths of Caracalla in Roma, but this seems a wild guess with very fragile bases, moreover in conflict with the presence of the Egyptian gods.

A second papyrus is a copy of the declaration submitted by priests, at the request of imperial officials, concerning the assets of some of the temples of Oxyrhynchos in the age of Septimius Severus (193–211 CE). It is a collection of lists of votive offerings (γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων): the best preserved, from the Temple of Neotera (*P. Oxy.* xii.1449), lists among other things an εἰκονίδιον – probably a painted table – with portraits of the imperial family (Caracalla, Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna), irresistibly reminiscent of the well-known clypeus preserved in Berlin (Heinen, 1991); a wooden statue (ξύλον) of *Demeter* with the bust in Parian marble; a second wooden statue with the head also in Parian marble and stucco jewellery; and then statuettes, furnishings, jewellery, clothes and oil lamps. Some notations are illuminating: the name of the donor is sometimes known thanks to the inscription on the gift, but this element is missing in the oldest offerings or when the inscription is lacking, suggesting that in the past the inventories went lost or were unsystematic. On the contrary they existed for more recent times: the weight of the lamp dedicated by Ptolemaios is recorded in the “periodical lists” [ὦν ὁ στα]θμ(ός) δι(ὰ) τῶν κατὰ χρόν(ο) γρα(φῶν) [δη]λοῦτ(αι). These lists are to be considered periodical surveys of the contents and condition of the patrimony, maybe on the occasion of a change of bailee (παράδοσις). They usually record the material and, especially in the case of precious metals, the weight. The lists of the other temples – less well preserved – are very similar: there is the mention of material, weight and eventually of the state of conservation of the offerings; sometimes it is specified that the gift is σεσημ(μένον) ἄχρηστ(ον): out of order.

The last papyrus, from Oxyrhynchos as well (*P. Lond.* iii.755 v.; Łukaszewicz, 1979; Papaconstantinou, 2013), gives us an inventory of the 4th century. It does not list figurative works, however, but columns, probably being considered for reuse, located in several houses in a state of neglect. The entries include measures, the presence of bases and capitals, if the stone is local or imported, if the shaft is plain or fluted, if it is broken or intact, standing or lying down, in other words all the vital data for their relocation.

Brief notes of the same type are also in Roma’s Regionary Catalogues – lists of monuments and places in topographical order derived from administrative documents

of the age of Diocletianus updated under Constantinus. Here the colossal statue near the Flavian Amphitheatre is described in an essential way as *Colossus altum pedes CII semis; habet in capita radia VII singula pedum XXII semis* (Valentini & Zucchetti, 1940: 100): “A colossus 102,5 feet high, with seven rays on its head, each of them 22,5 feet long”. The focus is on dimensions and the rays of the crown, obviously an element of special value. The appendix of these catalogues – the so called *Brebiarium* – lists 23 equestrian statues and the main divine statues: 80 gilded figures and 74 in ivory (Valentini & Zucchetti, 1940: 161, 187).

A last example is provided by the lists of gifts offered by the emperor or by the popes to the basilicas and churches of Roma recorded in the *liber pontificalis*, a collection of the popes’ biographies. Of particular interest for this discussion are the lives of the popes between the 4th and the 5th centuries. Here the lists – as clearly shown by Geertman (1986–1987) – follow strictly hierarchical principles distributing the gifts according to a clear classification of the liturgical importance of churches and basilicas and drawing on documents from the archive of the Roman bishops, where donations were recorded in order to certify the size of the patrimony of each church. These lists rarely mention iconographic details – limited to the most outstanding examples such as the monumental *fastigium* of the Lateran – but on the other hand they show high precision in recording the weight of each gift in precious material (e.g. *liber pontificalis* xxxiv.9–11). There are several more ecclesiastical lists, preserved by papyri and *ostraka*, but they are of less interest and consist only of liturgical vessels and vestments (Van Minnen, 1991; Mundell Mango, 1992; Caseau, 2007). Optatus of Milevis (i.17–18) mentions a similar list and calls it *commemoratorium* or *brevis auri et argenti*.

Let us return to the 4th century and to the *curator statuarum*. The need for this office becomes clear considering the gradual closure of the pagan temples. Especially noteworthy is the imperial constitution of 29 January 399 (*codex Theodosianus* xvi.10,15), concerning the preservation of the pagan statues considered as works of art. The problem was not so much and not only in terms of the ideological confrontation between pagans and Christians, but more in relation to the maintenance of the *decor* of the city and of its monumental heritage up against the diminished resources that could be used for the upkeep and restoration of public buildings. These same buildings, at least in part, were gradually losing their original functions as a result of dramatic changes in the civic structure. A trace of these concerns is also transmitted by a series

of inscriptions, with a standardized terminology, dealing with statues moved to more suitable locations. The statues were *translatæ de sordentibus locis* or *ex abditis locis* to decorate some other *celeberrimum locum*. The aim of these notations was not only to celebrate the effort of the official who had arranged the move, but also to attest that the procedure had been carried out according to the rules. A number of these inscriptions was studied by Lepelley (Lepelley, 1994; Lepelley, 2000–2001), but we can add more examples to the list (*CIL* vi 29805 = *ILS* 548; Papi, 1999; Spinola, 1999a; Spinola, 1999b: 48 nr. 59; Campbell, 2011; *CIL* vi 41344a = *CIL* vi 36968 = *AEpig* 1996, 100a–b; *CIL* vi 41394 = *AEpig* 1984, 34; *CIL* vi 41416; *CIL* ix 1588 = *ILS* 5480; *CIL* x 5349; *CIL* xiv 2082 = *LSA* 1678; *AEpig* 1916, 96. Cf. Curran, 1994; Witschel, 2006: 372–3; Ambrogio, 2012). For all these needs, therefore, we have to imagine that there were administrative tools that would allow the recording of the statues and their location, which had to be authorized if on public land, as we have already seen.

After this series of documents we can get a better idea of the type of data that could be recorded in an inventory, or better in a *synopsis*. The bare minimum is a short and simple name or definition that allows us to recognize the object, but we also encounter a serial number, eventually registered on the object itself, specific notations concerning valuable parts, size or weight when useful. Possibly the place where the item was located was also recorded, as in the Oxyrhynchos papyrus, which lists the columns, or in the case of statues on public land, whose placement or transfer had to be authorized. In summary, they are the data useful for a careful asset management, as is clear from the same term *synopsis*, deriving from legal, administrative and technical terminology. Only the fragmentary evidence of the Geneva papyrus and (partially) that concerning the Temple of Neotera speak in favour of the presence of records concerning the history of a piece, its author and possibly donor. In modern museological terminology, the first set of information is all we need for the inventory, the last and more sophisticated notes, on the other hand, are essential for a catalogue. Summing

up: the evidence proves that in Roma there was an official record of sculptures and works of art, but it seems to have been an inventory with administrative purposes and therefore not very likely to have been the source for Plinius and his art-historical information.

In conclusion: the interpretation of the collections must consider a double level and an implicit tension in the phenomenon. On the one hand we recognize in these works of art a strong semantic load that appears in the choice of subjects, types, styles, and placement as well as in the memory of specific events, eventually recorded by commemorative inscriptions. This system – a real semiosphere – is subject to interpretations, transformations, removals and effacements following in real time those events that mark an age: conquests, political turns, cultural and institutional changes. On the other hand we have the administrative needs, a “colder” dimension, so to speak, that is less susceptible to the fluctuations of the *evemenential* history and tied rather to the *longue durée* of the structural phenomena: these needs reflect the physical organization and administration of the city and its management. These features act as a channel for the transmission of information according to a filter which is different from the one we can define as “Plinian”, a cultivated and politically significant one. It differs inasmuch as its purposes are pragmatic more than academic, but – in the long run – it is more effective in determining the overall survival of such monuments and the continuity of their function. Changes in the civil administration and the end of the administrative organization for the protection of the urban *decor* determine, ultimately, the end of the signifying function of the collections and even of the conditions of the existence of this heritage.

A long-term history of the collections of Roma can emerge only as the result of these two processes: the first that obeys short term politics and the second, slower and underground, that follows the rhythms of administrations. The intersection of the two forces determines the manner in which the works and collections fulfil their social function.

Archetypes of Collecting in the Roman World: Antiquarianism, Gift Exchange, Identity and Time-Space as Parameters of Value

Alexandra Bounia

Introduction

Roman collectors and collecting have been attracting scholarly attention since the 19th century (Bonnafé, 1867). The notorious examples of Gaius Verres, L. Licinius Lucullus, P. Vedius Pollio or the fictional C. Pompeius Trimalchio, but also the paradigmatic collecting activities of M. Tullius Cicero (e.g. Robert, 2007), G. Plinius Secundus (e.g. Carey, 2000) or Augustus (Reinach, 1889), have been discussed from many different perspectives. Questions of originality and provenance of the works of art forming these collections (e.g. Marvin, 1989), of the influence of Greek art and culture on Roman art criticism and taste (e.g. Jucker, 1950; Becatti, 1951; Pollitt, 1974; 1978; 1983), of whether Romans had a valid art sense (*Kunstsinn*) or not (e.g. Friedländer, 1865–1871; Blümner, 1873; Hermann, 1855), and of how Roman “museums” fit into the history of the institution (e.g. Alsop, 1982; Audoly, 2008), have often referred to this cultural practice and used it as a tool of analysis and understanding. The motivation behind collecting has been discussed in close relationship to questions of art criticism and art history writing, taste and philosophy (e.g. Tanner, 2006); it has also often become associated with enquiries about iconographic and decorative programs, or the social role of art (e.g. Chevallier, 1991; Prioux, 2008; Tronchin, 2012a, b). Patterns of viewing, eclecticism and questions of heterogeneity and the agency of the patron (e.g. Bergmann, 1994; Elsner, 1995; Tanner, 2010; Dwyer, 2012) have also developed readings and interpretations either of the collections or of the collectors. Practices related to the dark side of collecting, such as looting, have been also discussed in detail (see Pape, 1975; Welch, 2006; Miles, 2008; Lapatin, 2010). The relation between public and private, but also “virtual” and real collections have been examined (e.g. Prioux, 2008; Petersen, 2010; Rutledge, 2012), employing both textual and material testimonies, as well as different theoretical tools.

This paper aims to contribute to the discussion by focusing not on practices of “collectors” or the contents of the collections; we will not try to reflect on personal motivations or to reconstruct individual collecting practices. We will employ collecting theory to distinguish patterns

of collecting, notions that defined the appreciation of material culture and the use of the accumulations of the objects for constructing a cosmological order. I argue that these patterns and perceptions of the material world have been in constant re-interpretation until our times and have rendered the Roman collectors and collections the archetypes of the phenomenon in subsequent periods. Far from arguing that the cultural meanings attributed to ancient collecting are the same to our day, I ascribe to the view that there are “family resemblances” that “render the ancient and modern practices mutually intelligible” (Tanner, 2010: 268).

This paper will be divided in the following parts: at first, there will be a discussion of collecting theory, which will form the background of the subsequent discussion; then, I will focus on four parameters that I argue to be fundamental in the construction of meaning through and of collections and I will discuss each of them based on information provided by the ancient world, mainly through ancient sources. The reason for this decision is that contemporary or nearly contemporary writers are our only resource if we want to invest in a multi-layered understanding of the meaning of assemblages or displays of objects and paintings: in order for contemporary students of the past to read significance into the signs visible in ancient sites (like Pompeii or Herculaneum), we need to work through the readings of previous readers of the same signs (Dwyer, 2012). And by reading the readings of contemporary readers, but also those upon which subsequent readings (like those of the Renaissance) were based, we enhance our layers of understanding (Bounia, 2008). Finally, we will draw all the issues together and offer a model of analysis based on these parameters that can be useful when trying to understand and interpret collections of the (Roman) past.

Collecting Theory and Practice

Collecting as a systematic activity that refers to the satisfaction of symbolic, rather than actual, needs is a phenomenon with deep historical roots. It can be described

as comprising two basic characteristics: the accumulation of objects and the use of such accumulations to perform acts of cosmological interpretation. Different individuals and communities offer cultural precedence to different kinds of accumulations. But, despite their differences, these accumulations depend on the qualities of the artefacts deemed precious enough to be collected and the notions that are closely bound to these values so that they contribute to the creation of a cosmological order for the collector(s). The assemblages of objects are then used to validate, reflect and encourage social practice and systems of legitimization and understanding.

Collecting forms part of affirming the significance of the mighty dead, as a memorializing activity, whether the accumulation remains open to view or hidden. It acts as a social symbol through which relationships can be created between person and person, person and community and both of these and the divine. It can act as a form of sacrifice in which valuables are surrendered, and the sacred, particularly the sacred space, created. It can be part of the poetic of good and evil, and it can construct systems of knowledge which inform and support social action. (Pearce & Bounia, 2000: xiii).

In other words, collection is a conscious or unconscious selection among the whole of the material culture available in a civilization, of those objects which will become “endurable” and acquire heritage value. The reasons behind that selection are closely associated with the intellectual, social and economic circumstances of the collector’s era, and the way these have been perceived by the individual(s) as well as with the collector’s idiosyncrasy. Despite the idiosyncratic mode of their assemblage though, collections are also a cultural interpretation of reality and the prevailing social constructs, as these are understood by the collectors.

Collecting is a classification process *par excellence*; it involves individuals, societies, and material culture (see Pearce, 1995; Baudrillard, 1968) and is immediately associated with time and space. This dimension of collections is frequently highlighted in the collecting discourse: “... the sphere of material objects is *ordered* in ways upon which we rely for a *sense of continuity* and as *markers of temporal change*”; “[w]hen *put aside* or *gathered into* collections ... [objects] can be used to *evoke a sense of their time and place*”; they may be “*removed from their temporal and spatial context*”; and “*serve as reminders* or as a *focus for recalling time ... or ... places*” (Radley, 1990: 46,

47, 50, 51; emphasis added). According to Susan Stewart (1993: 162):

there are two movements to the collection’s gesture of standing for the world: first, the metonymic displacement of part for whole, item for context; the second, the invention of a classification scheme which will define space and time in such a way that the world is accounted for by the elements of the collection.

In other words, collections are by definition based on the capacities of objects to define a spatial and temporal context, and be defined by it, to evoke the sense and essence of this context when they are placed (*sic*) elsewhere, to establish a relationship with time as reminders of the past, as points signifying temporal change, or as media towards a sense of continuity, and, finally, to order the world in an intelligible way for the collector. Collections aim at a comprehensive appropriation either of space and distance, or of time (past, present, and future), or of both. In addition, they are expected to furnish (in both meanings of the term) the world of the collector, to define his own context, create an environment for himself, and help him make sense of it. In other words, collections are one of the main expressions of the individual’s attempts to bring a personal value order to the universe of things (Kopytoff, 1986: 76).

“Lifting objects away from the world of common commodities into a world of special significance” is a fundamental characteristic of the collecting process (Pearce, 1995: 27). This notion has its root in ideas about objects serving to create and perpetuate social relationships with other men or the gods, as well as in the idea of “sacred” as it emerged in the early European languages and links with the oath/ordeal paradigm, and kinship relations. Gift exchange in particular, as a means of creating social relationships, helps us to understand the role of collecting within the whole social fabric. The emotional values connected with gifts are embraced in modernist capitalist societies by collections (Pearce, 1995: 406–407).

Collections, and especially museum ones, are, more often than not, related to objects from the past (no matter how distant or close this is). People turn to the past for a series of reasons: they seek to reaffirm and validate their present, to identify individual existence with what is memorable and, thus, give meaning, purpose and value to themselves, to receive guidance for the future, to enrich and lengthen their lives by acquiring links with events and people prior to themselves, to find alternatives to

an unsatisfying or unacceptable present (Lowenthal, 1985: 41). Objects and material possessions form a means through which these aims are pursued. They are the material bridges that join the intellectual, spatial and temporal gap between people and their past. They are used as mnemonic tools to create, store, and retrieve a sense of the past, that is by itself instrumental in managing social and individual identity (Belk, 1991: 114).

Drawing on the above, we are going to focus on four parameters, whose value and presence remains pivotal when discussing collecting. Not because collecting is an “a-chronic” (timeless) notion; we argue neither for “continuity” nor for “disruption” between present and past. Manifestly, each generation interprets the past and uses it to make its own new notions. But, as Martindale (2013: 172) contends: “[I]nterpretations demonstrably change over the course of history, but they do not change completely and they continue to bear the traces of earlier meanings”. This is true of all social practice and collecting is no exception.

The four parameters that we suggest are: (a) the notion of the past and the role of material culture as mediator between people and their beliefs regarding the world and their past; (b) identity as a key notion on both a communal and a personal level and the power of objects to create and structure this identity; (c) notions of space and time, which need material culture in order to be made specific and understandable; and (d) gift exchange as a deeply-rooted social tradition that constructs relationships between people, people and gods and people and material culture. I argue that these four notions are closely bound up with the values attributed to the objects assembled in collections and provide community and individual significance that sustains identity in its cosmological relationships.

Antiquity, Antiquarianism and the Past

Antiquity appears as a common motif in the discussion of collections. In addition, the phenomenon of antiquarianism is deeply embedded in the creation of modern museums. On the other hand, antiquity, as a notion which turns objects into desirable collectibles, is a recurrent theme in the ancient Greek and Latin authors. Therefore, it is important to discuss the relation Greeks and Romans developed toward their past and its material remains, and in particular the role objects and monuments held in their efforts to (re-)construct and comprehend that past (see also Shaya, 2013). These questions are immediately related to antiquarianism, as a strand of historiography, and the shape

this took during the classical period. Historiographical traditions incorporate philosophical thought and reflect a society's ideas and feelings toward its past. We can distinguish two areas where the interest of ancient historians focused: the recent past, which attracted the attention of the major historians and developed in accordance with the view that only that for which personal testimonies are available deserves to be studied (e.g. Herodotos i.1; Thukydides i.1; i.21; i.22,2; i.73,2; i.97); and the distant past, which formed the area of interest of erudite men and antiquarians: their task was to assemble in a systematic manner all data available (monuments, objects and inscriptions included), in the form of lists and catalogues, in order to shape a coherent picture of the past and save it for the future (see for instance, *barbarika nomima* by Hellanikos of Lesbos (cited in Eusebios, *praeparatio evangelica* [euangelike proparaskeue] ix.13; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: F 4 T 72), *ethnon onomasiai* by Hippias (cited in an anonymous scholion on Apollonios of Rhodos, *Argonautika* iii.1179; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 6 F 1), *peri goneon kai progenon ton eis Ilion strateysamenon* ascribed to Damastes (*souda lexikon* delta, 41; Jacoby, 1923/*Brill's New Jacoby* Online, 2014: 5 T 1) or Polos, *peri ton Pythagoreion kai peri eyrematon* by Herakleides (in Diogenes, *bioi kai gnomai ton en philosophia eudokimesanton*, v.6,88) (Momigliano, 1950; Schnapp, 1996). This latter approach reflects philosophical concerns that legitimize erudition and support it by denouncing political historiography as interested only in the mundane and the particular instead of in general truths, but also complies with the assumption that material culture as an embodiment of technological progress corresponds to the level of civilization.

All these ideas determined the values attributed to objects. The first is the notion of “evidence”. Objects and monuments are not exactly the sort of evidence on which the initiators of this notion, Herodotos and Thukydides, put their emphasis. Nevertheless, by introducing it, they created the prerequisites for such a use. Material remains are, hesitantly at first, to be used as sources of information and knowledge. Gradually, they are used more and more as reminders of events, personalities and actions, and metaphors of a lost past.

During the Roman period the material remains acquired primary importance. Being ancient was a proper quality (see Arafat, 1995; Arafat, 1996 on Pausanias) as such. But it meant more than merely that. Objects had acquired the unique role of being used as indications of both the ‘Other’ and the self. Defining the ‘Other’ is a major step toward defining self. The Romans of the imperial period had conquered almost the whole world known to them; thus, to

find another way of defining this new self of theirs, they had to search for the 'Other' in the past. Objects and monuments then become a poetic metaphor of the 'Other' of the past, in the present. Consequently, they become of unique importance for the definition and understanding of Roman identity. As Plinius has put it, as early as the 1st century CE, it was not books that the Romans needed, it was store-houses (Plinius, *naturalis historia* praef. 17). If books help people to learn the unknown, objects help them to re-know things more deeply (Hubbard, 1984).

Therefore, material culture in the Roman world acquired the status of a source of information and knowledge, and eventually the power to symbolize, signify, "stand for" events, personalities, actions, "the past". In this sense, material remains were the "evidence" of "reality", of the acquisition of knowledge and the power this entails. They signified ideas and notions distant or imminent (in time and space), that could define the self and the "Other". These capacities of objects were brought forward in collections assembled in order to construct the narrative the collector wished in order to prove his "reality", to document his knowledge and power, to appropriate the distant and the exotic. In other words, collections narrated stories about the collector's self, as well as about his perception and appropriation of the "Other"; they were poetic metaphors of this self and "Other", and therefore, defining mechanisms for the construction and understanding of identity.

The impact of these views on both the practice and the politics of collecting in the Roman world, as well as the poetics of it, were illustrated in the work of writers, such as Plinius and Petronius. The genuinely historical character of Plinius' *naturalis historia* ascribes the work to the tradition of antiquarianism. Plinius, in a search for the remarkable and the noteworthy, expands the horizon of the traditional historical account, and provides a natural history, in which all the aspects of natural and cultural are included (Rouveret, 1987a; Carey, 2000; 2004). According to Plinius (vii.210), objects are "evidence". Deposited in temples or other public buildings, they can testify to a city's, nation's, or individual's prosperity and power (iii.120). They can be products of human ingenuity, like paintings, or inscribed tablets of bronze (iii.210; viii.56), as well as natural rarities, like monsters' bones, skins of exotic people, or exceptional specimens of flora and fauna (e.g. vi.200; viii.37; ix.11; xxxii.5). When the objects are natural rarities, they have a dual role to play. They serve to "evidence" man's achievements in terms of acquiring the necessary knowledge to reach these objects, but also, and for Plinius most importantly, to be tangible proof of nature's grandeur and wealth.

We can define the antiquarian as a student of the past, who unlike the historian writes in a systematic order (instead of a chronological one), collects all the items that are connected with a certain theme, whether they can be of any assistance in solving a problem or not, and deals with subjects that are considered more suitable for systematic description than for a chronological account (Momigliano, 1950: 286). Plinius' work fits remarkably well into this description: influenced by Stoic conceptions of nature and the world, he undertakes the role of a systematic recorder of all the *thaumasia* that the city of Roma and the Roman world have amassed, in order to save for the future, but also provide for his contemporaries, a treasury of knowledge about the history of civilisation, and in particular, about the history of Roman power.

The *naturalis historia* has a very broad subject-matter that exceeds the limits usually set for encyclopaedic works. Its broad perspective had been shaped by Plinius' perception of the world, which in turn had been defined by Stoic naturalism. Nature is a passive and an active element in life, and as such it is contained even in the humblest little thing. In this sense, Plinius' belief that he can assemble the world in his books seems absolutely rational and justifiable. Furthermore, the *naturalis historia* is an historical work, in the sense that it presents an attempt to record for posterity the accomplishments of Roman people and the power of the Roman state. This accounts for many of the decisions taken by Plinius, as for instance the inclusion of the "art history chapters" in his book, as well as his attempt to write a history of civilisation and techniques, along with a natural history (Isager, 1991).

The *naturalis historia* is also a source of information for collecting in the Roman world. Plinius records collections and collectors mainly of the public domain, held in Roma during that period, as well as their reception. He provides thus an interpretation of the "collecting discourse" of his period; he defends a hierarchy of values that he defines as distinct from those of his contemporaries, and he exemplifies this in his own work and in his own collection, as opposed to the actual collections that others had assembled. Collections in the public domain, which are the product of beneficent interference of emperors and generals, as well as collections that have resulted from spoils of victorious wars against the enemies of Roma (e.g. the collection of the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxvii.18, xxxv.108, xxxvii.11), are very explicitly valued and appreciated. On the contrary, private collections are discouraged, at least as long as they express a sinister relation with material culture, ignorance, or neglect, of the natural values and lack of rationality. For example, see his discussion of Nero, who had

confiscated an *Amazon euknemon* by Strongylion from the collection of C. Cestius Gallus (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.48, xxxiv.82), had purchased a Babylonian coverlet for the enormous amount of 4,000,000 sesterces (Plinius, *naturalis historia* viii.196–197), or conversely Vespasianus who had transferred to his Templum Pacis bronze statues that Nero had earlier kept in his Domus Aurea (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.84, xxxvii.20, xxxvii.29).

Plinius does not deny the existence or the necessity for collections; on the contrary, he offers a definition of the notion of collection in his world. A collection becomes a set of works of art, artefacts, and natural curiosities set aside as a vehicle of propaganda and comparison between the morally accomplished and the degenerates, as well as symbols of military prowess and Roman superiority. The holding power of the units of a collection therefore is the political and ideological messages and not the aesthetic value of the works. This is so because of the role of the collection as a space of artificial memory. Therefore, collections operate as *monumenta* of illustrious men, and as “evidence” of human achievements and of Nature’s grandeur. Furthermore, The *naturalis historia* presents a rhetorical understanding of the collections.

Based on these remarks, we can reach the conclusion that Plinius puts his own views in practice when he writes The *naturalis historia*, and that the latter is his own “collection”. Naturally, this development relates to a more broad understanding of collections in the Roman world, and Plinius offers simply the culmination of a long lasting tradition, where collecting of facts and information has been as important as the collection of tangible materials was, if not even more (see Prioux, 2008 about collections of epigrams/*ekphraseis*).

Already in the Greek world, antiquarians had introduced the tradition of assembling in one book “objects” of their interest, whether votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries, *heuremata*, or intangible information about practices, beliefs, institutions, or even people. This antiquarian tradition was taken over by Varro and Atticus in the Roman world, not to mention the paradoxographers, and the writers of *mirabilia*. In fact, Roma was an antiquarian’s “paradise”, since, despite the natural disasters (floods, fires) that changed the appearance of the city, ancient remains were generally protected. It was a similar case in the old towns of Latium. Whatever the local stimulus, however, the antiquarian standards owed a great deal to the Greek traditions, too. Cicero and Atticus at least knew and admired Dikaiarkhos of Messene, whom they mentioned with enthusiasm in their work (Cicero, *tusculanae disputationes*

i.77; *ad Atticum* ii.2,2; xii.4; xvi.3; vi.2,3) (Rawson, 1985: 235). But the most well known antiquarian of the Roman world was M. Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE). Being a prolific writer, with wide interests, Varro wrote 620 books, which belonged to 74 separate works. Among them there were 41 books on *antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum*, with other antiquarian works *de vita* and *de gente populi Romani*, a book of “origins” called *aetia* (like the *aitia* of Kallimakhos), and a treatise on Trojan families and on the Roman tribes (Sandys, 1921: 177). Varro was greatly respected by his contemporaries. No Roman writer before him had collected so much historical evidence and had presented it in such a logical way. Varro’s contribution was important for his data accumulation and the erudition this involved, but also, and mainly, because he suggested through his work that there is the possibility of acquiring positive knowledge about past societies (Schnapp, 1996: 60–65). Besides his shortcomings (he is criticised as not being original enough in his approach, or as critical as others), Varro certainly did stimulate antiquarianism in others (e.g. Fenestella, 52 BCE–19 CE, Verrius Flaccus, fl. 10 BCE, and so on) (Sandys, 1921: 200). The collections of these men were textual, of course, limited within the pages of books, but serving the same purpose that the tangible ones were called to serve. They were assemblages of facts, set aside for future generations as well as contemporaries, as sources of knowledge, admiration, political and national pride, that would testify to the grandeur of their own society.

Plinius’ work was part of this tradition, and in many ways summarised it for future generations. It was not only the collection *per se* that was important for his followers, but also the collecting mode it represented. Plinius’ encyclopedic spirit, his classification principle, his understanding of collections as methods of commemoration and *locus* of memory influenced the Renaissance collectors directly or indirectly. The textual character of Plinius’ collection influenced their view about the dialectic relation between *res* and *verba*. Their “museums”, “cabinets” or “theatres” were the tangible illustrations of their “museums on paper”, which aimed to serve the same purpose and reassured accessibility and popularity (cf. the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo). In other words, the early museum catalogues, instead of being a result of the collecting activities have to be seen as a cause, a reason for them. The *naturalis historia* undoubtedly is the inspiring flame behind them, and a unique monument whose importance goes far beyond the limits of its era (see also Blake McHam, 2013).

Individual and Communal Identity

The notions of identity, self and 'Other', have a central role in collecting since collections shape identities, define the self and reconcile individual agents with centres of power. During the Hellenistic period, when the first private collections were formed, there was an alleged "rise of individualism". But is this the case? Despite a deceptive encouragement of individuality, the philosophical concepts regarding individuals as these were developed in Hellenistic philosophies (Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism), maintained a remarkable faith in the traditional communal organization, although they redefined it for the purposes of a changing world. They advocated alternative communities, where the person would be able to achieve completion and ethical excellence. The social perception of these values is particularly prominent in the Roman world, where the notion of *decorum* propagates this responsibility of the individual to comply with his internal nature, but also with the social circumstances in which he finds himself involved (Gill, 1988).

Collections in the Roman world signify an advanced role for the individual, but that cannot be associated with the "rise of individualism". Collections were part of the social role the individual had to fulfil, and sources of pre-eminence within this social framework. They were means through which Roman collectors aimed to create a niche for themselves in the social sphere, by acquiring access to a community of culture and prestige that the assemblage of Greek works of art and other precious artefacts signified. Far from being an exercise in individualism, collections of the Roman period were attempts to prove belonging to a tradition of excellence, that would transfer to the owner the prestige and qualities that belonging to such a community implied. In other words, the collections of the Roman era aimed to help their owners gain their individuality through the perfect accomplishment of their social role. Collections were "bound by a shared set of conventions" (Tronchin, 2012a: 274), that would help the owner of the collection display his belonging, rather than his individuality.

The appreciation of exactly these qualities of material culture is expressed by Cicero, who defines "reasonable collecting" as a carefully planned manifestation of the social, religious and patriotic character of Roma, which would be "appropriate" for the social role of the individual, and "useful", displaying a connoisseurship rooted to a profound philosophical appreciation of art, to *humanitas*. Collections therefore were understood as parts of a meaningful Roman context, meant to allocate domestic or public space, to differentiate between notions of public and

private, and to structure the collector's relationship with the world (see for instance Cicero, *de officiis* 1.138–139; also Conte, 1994: 197–198). In other words, they meant to empower the collector, as well as the visitors, to domesticate, to make sense of the values collecting advocated, and to be part of the socialization of the collector, and of the necessity for him to express and support in every possible way the social *status quo*.

The portrait of the typical collector all writers describe is that of an ignorant, *nouveau riche* anti-connoisseur, who confused external appearances with profound values, and when not assembling objects for vulgar and contemptible reasons, developed sinister relations to material culture, "depended" psychologically on material possessions, and was unduly and passionately involved in their appreciation and acquisition. Verres was the epitome of this category of collecting: uncultivated, unorthodox in his method of acquisition, irrational in his relation to objects, and compared with tyrants and philanderers (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,73; ii.4,123; ii.5,145). Collectors of this sort, present also in the descriptions of Martialis, suffered from unconsummated passion that led to inadequate social relations, which in turn led to an insatiable desire for objects, used to compensate for social inadequacies. Another similar collector, Euctus (Martialis, *epigrammata* viii.6) is proud of the prestigious pedigrees of his objects, but at the same time he is a complete ignorant of the norms of social relations. Charinus, on the other hand (Martialis, *epigrammata* iv.39) is a collector who strives towards his completion and gratification through collecting. Martialis suggests that collecting is for Charinus a mechanism of compensation for his lost purity, along with a powerful symbol of his personal inadequacies. These social deficiencies and attempts to re-compensate for them through collections sometimes find an equivalent in an insatiable desire for women, and thus complete the model of the socially deficient person.

At the other end of the spectrum is the rational collector, who practices collecting as a clearly planned rational activity, who views material culture as a medium for creating and extending one's self, but within the limits set by community laws. Interestingly, ancient writers juxtapose their own "true criteria" and "real value" of objects with the criteria imposed by the collectors, and the values "they" appreciated. Petronius, for instance, who seems to adopt a completely ironic stance toward both public and private collections, implies that there is a different, more profound, set of values that ordinary collectors simply miss (e.g. Petronius, *satyrice* 52).

Cicero and Verres provide two examples of these opposing collecting paradigms prominent in the late Roman

Republic (see Zimmer, 1994; Dubouloz & Pittia, 2007; Miles, 2008), which can be analysed within this framework. Although largely exaggerated due to the rhetorical purpose of the *Verrine orations*, there is no doubt that the two portraits correspond quite well with the growing tendencies of the Roman aristocrats toward material culture and its use in the construction of individual and communal identity. Verres as an example of a “bad” collector, concentrates in his person characteristics and attitudes that have been traditionally associated with the individualistic, sterile, and largely animistic relation to material culture. It is interesting to note that his collecting motive is described by Cicero as being a passion for works of art. This is based not on rational criteria, such as conforming to the social role expected from a man in his rank, and attempting to promote his personality and culture through art (as was the case with Cicero himself, who also had a collection, but of the “rational” kind) but on a blind love for everything beautiful and ancient. In addition to him being uncultivated, unorthodox in his methods, and irrationally predisposed against objects, or rather, exactly because of this, Verres is compared to tyrants, and even to perverted philanderers. There is a long tradition that views the personality of collectors of the passionate kind, unfolding within exactly these boundaries: unconsummated passion, leading to inadequate social relations, based upon the objects themselves; the insatiable desire for objects finds an equivalent in an insatiable desire for women, and completes the model of the socially handicapped person. This model extends from the antique world to contemporary views of collecting in popular fiction and literature (Edgar, 1997; Wilkinson, 1997; Baekeland, 1981), where we also find the portrait of the “bad” collector to be painted in similar, rather dark, colours. It is not that Verres (or the other “bad” collectors that Martialis, Petronius or Plinius describe) was uninterested in his public image. It was that the public image he wanted to create for himself, that of the connoisseur, was incorrectly perceived; not that his practice differed greatly from that of his contemporaries (although Cicero tries hard to prove the opposite), but it was endowed with a set of values that were too selfish and individualistic to be appreciated. Similar is the description of Charinus, by Martialis (*epigrammata* iv.39): the objects Charinus had selected and collected participated in a process of narcissistic projection on behalf of the collector; he extended himself to the very limits of his collection and he collected his ideal self, which, as Martialis ruthlessly unveils, far exceeded the actual personal quality of the collector.

The behaviour of Verres (but also of Charinus, Euctus, or Trimalchio) towards material culture resembles very

much that of female collectors, as they have been described by various authors. Women’s relation to material culture is structured around two traditional female stereotypes: women are either associated with the house, piety and religion (and these are the “honourable” women) or with frivolous activities, consumption of luxury and ultimately the disaster of the social fabric. According to the first of these stereotypes, women can be associated with the domestic environment, the female domain, and the adornments of the house, or religious practices and the objects that are used for these. In this case, they conform to the stereotype of the pious and respectful Roman matron, who is interested in the welfare of her household, and thus fulfils the desired model for a woman. In Petronius’ *satyricon*, for instance, Fortunata tries, in vain, to persuade the participants in her husband’s banquet, and the readers, that she is a typical noble Roman matron (73,20–24). Similarly, Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4,44–52) tries to win the sympathy of his audience by presenting exactly this picture of the good and honourable women of Sicily, who know their position in society, and they develop relations with their material culture based on the objects being parts of religious ceremonies, part of the domestic decoration and inheritance from their relatives; these ideas may not make sense to rational Roman judges, but still provide recognisable and respectable models. The second stereotype that associates women with material culture is, as mentioned above, the one that refers to objects of personal adornment. Material acquisitions of this category, mainly jewellery, offer the model of the woman as a frivolous, vain, time-wasting person, unconcerned with the civic life, who instead presents a danger to society, since personal adornment of this sort aims at men’s seduction, and the making of biased decisions. The women that Plinius presents, Lollia Paulina and Kleopatra, belong to this category (ix.117–121; also xiii.91–95; xxxiii.40; xxxiv.11–12; xxxvii.29), and so does Gellia in Martialis’ epigram (viii.81). In Martialis (vii.13) also we come across a comparison of beauty practices applied by women with connoisseurship (Lycoris follows the same practice for the beauty of her skin that the connoisseurs use for whitening objects of ivory).

The use of both these stereotypes implies an unnatural and irrational relation to material culture, and thus aims to alert the male readers of the dangers involved in such behaviour. Firstly, women are expected to be more passionate and irrational when it comes to acquiring personal property (as, for instance, Eriphyle, the mythic queen, was), and therefore, passionate collecting can be related to behaviour appropriate for women. Secondly, just like the wrong sort of attention to his appearance is considered to undermine man’s status as a male and exposes him to

the charges of effeminacy (Wyke, 1994), so does interest in “things female”. In this sense, collections that belong to the household, silverware, statuettes, furniture, and so on, along with objects that traditionally belong to the adornment of women, like jewellery, rings, etc., are meant to imply a man’s unorthodox behaviour that exceeds what is appropriately male, and thus puts at risk his male identity. Interest in them therefore can be considered a sign of effeminacy, and therefore degeneracy. Plinius (xiii.91–95) declares this view in his words “the tablemania which the ladies use as a retort to the men against the charge of extravagance in pearls”. Finally, women’s collecting relates to the private domain rather than the public (although the presence of female public benefactors is attested to in the literary sources – see, for instance, Fischler, 1994; Van Bremen, 1993; Kleiner, 1996), and therefore, “private” and passionate collecting is expected to bring feminine behaviour to mind.

Cicero, on the contrary, in the *Verrine orations* as well as in his correspondence and other parts of his work, presents the other end of the collecting spectrum. He conforms to the social role he has adopted for himself, complies with the social and cultural expectations his position entails, and practices collecting as an activity based on a clearly planned rationale, that views material culture as a medium for creating and extending one’s self. Interestingly, it is exactly on this belief that he bases his criticisms of Verres when charging him with the thefts of works of art. It is not collecting *per se* that he finds distressing and reprehensible, it is the kind of self that is expressed through that particular practice, that particular collection of which he disapproves. In his view, the way an individual relates to his material culture, that is the poetics of collecting, reveals the personality of the man: his social, personal, and political aspirations. For this reason, his collection is a carefully planned manifestation of his social and other aspirations and beliefs. Collections should be rational, he professes, should respect the religious and patriotic character of Roma, be appropriate and useful, and display a connoisseurship that goes beyond the mere appreciation of appearances, to a profoundly philosophical appreciation of art, to *humanitas*. Objects have to be conceived within a context, a meaningful Roman context, that will empower the viewer, the visitor, and the collector himself to domesticate, to make sense of the values (his) collecting advocated. Collections, therefore, are meant to be used as a medium of allocating use of space, of differentiating between notions of public and private, and of structuring the collector’s relationship with his immediate world. In his Letters to his friend Atticus (Cicero, *ad Atticum* ii.2; v.2) he expresses his interest in objects “suit-

able for a *gymnasium*” and thus becomes the “voice” of all Romans behaving appropriately as far as collections are concerned: it is on the ground of appropriateness and of finding the right space for them that he argues accepting or rejecting certain objects (Cicero, *ad familiares* vii.23) and he takes into account two important values: suitability (*decorum*) and utility (*utilitas*). Examples of such an approach are also available through the archaeological record (see Zarmakoupi, 2010, where also earlier references).

These views found their most explicit justification in the works of other writers as well, such as Petronius. The *satyrical* is a full account of all the implicit and explicit codes regulating collecting in the Roman context of the 1st century CE. Besides recording current practices, it documents accepted beliefs and responds to them, questioning their validity and debating their legitimacy. With the portrait of Trimalchio (*cena Trimalchionis*, Petronius, *satyrical* 26–78), a rather standard collector, similar (for reasons of literary composition, if not of realism) to other portraits of collectors delivered through other contemporary texts, eponymous or not (see, for instance the previously mentioned portraits in Martialis, *epigrammata* viii.6, iv.39 as well as Iuvenalis, *saturarum libri* v), we have the opportunity to see in great detail the mechanisms (social and psychological) behind the formation of a collection. In addition, Petronius’ negation of such a model records a far deeper and substantial role for collections. Trimalchio is the anti-type of the true connoisseur: he does not share even the most basic qualities necessary to participate in the status he claims to have gained through his material assemblages. With no *paideia*, no literary-mythological and art-critical knowledge, exemplified by his mixture of mythological events and his preoccupations with the futility of life, Trimalchio’s claims to have joined the élite with the power of his possessions are proved inadequate and ultimately hilarious.

But there is more to it than that. Trimalchio does not share the essence of collecting, the code that connects objects and their possessors in that intimate sacred and consecrating link. He claims inheritance, while his actions and words prove that this is not true, and although he may consider objects able to make his life transcend the limits imposed by physiological constraints, that is death, he does not really recognise the path in this direction. Petronius’ criticism could not have been the same if he did not share some of these aspirations, or at least, if he did not know that there were some who did.

In another part of *satyrical*, the narrative takes place in the picture-gallery (83–89). In this case we are taken a step further into the discussion of the nature of

collecting. Although here the heroes (Encolpius and Eumolpos) share at least the external signs of culture – they recognise the creators of the paintings, they use the appropriate terminology, they identify the mythological themes – they still do not fully participate in the power that potentially the assemblage of pictures bears. Apparently, there needs to be an initiation process, that will enable the individual to redeem the real worth of collections, that is have access to the truth. By questioning and taking an ironic stance to all the standard features of such a procedure, i.e. the setting of the collection, the presence of the mediator, the philosophical concerns that lead to that end, and have shaped such a view of it, Petronius questions not only the practices of his era, but even himself. He ends by dismissing all these codes and secret/sacred meanings. In the process though, we have the opportunity to record what was there for his contemporaries to see and choose from. Trimalchio, Encolpius and Eumolpos' attempts share an ill-destined end, as far as Petronius' approval is concerned, no matter what procedures they follow. But although this is so, Petronius provides examples of two ways of appropriating art and objects – each with its shortcomings. In the latter, Petronius overcomes the limits of *paideia*, and concentrates on the philosophical and political dimensions to indicate that there is an undeniable connection between appreciation of material culture and concepts of power and control.

The Notion of Time and Space

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophical thought was concerned with time and space as physical, cosmological, and metaphysical concepts: time was perceived as having the capacity to order and arrange events on a prior/posterior basis, as related to movement and rest, as being numerable and measurable. Space was understood as the container of the body, and essential for the existence and conception of everything in the world. It arranged bodies, just like time arranged events. It was related to the natural place of all elements in the world, and corresponded to biological ideas about order and sequence. Space and time together guaranteed cosmic order and helped the construction of notions of knowledge and human life at large (Callahan, 1948; Sorabji, 1988). With these broad ideas in mind, classical collectors had the necessary framework and thinking tools to develop ideas about the role of objects in the arrangement of the world, as well as to develop elaborate techniques of display, and patterns of assemblage that would reveal ideas of order, development, and natural place.

Furthermore, linguistic evidence suggests that time can be understood as space, and could be related to ideas about order and cultural constructs, like the pre-eminence of the past over the future, of the ancestors over the descendants, of what comes before, first or higher, over what comes after, or lower (Bettini, 1991; Bounia, 2004). These ideas influence values attributed to material culture, but also the very ways of thinking about life, and knowledge, as well as ideas about the setting of collections, the organization of space to reveal world order, and to associate with time. The impact of these ideas can still be detected in the chronologically arranged collections of modern museums.

In the Roman period, the capacity of objects to define the time and place to which they belonged, and to carry this dimension with them so as to evoke a different temporal and spatial dimension when placed elsewhere, was well recognized. Examples drawn from literary sources, and archaeological finds (see Neudecker, 1998; Leach, 2004; Mattusch, 2008; Zarmakoupi, 2010), suggest that the Romans used material culture to recreate and evoke the sense of a different time and place both in private and in public. Roman architects and owners emulated Greek building types, not only in architectural terms, but also in the “filling” of the space, so that it would evoke a different feeling, associated with culture. As a result, Roman villas came to have their own *gymnasia* and *porticus*, their *pinacothecae* and *palaestrae*, and resemble (in the sense of having absorbed) palatial and sacred buildings of the Hellenistic past. Romans also enjoyed the recreation of geographical or mythological spaces in their properties. Scholars have associated these with the “decorative programme” of different villas, and elaborate attempts have been made to account for some of the most coherent and best surviving recreations. Vitruvius advises his readers to decorate walkways with a variety of landscape settings, which copied the most characteristic features of specific places (*a certis locorum*). Other famous examples include the villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, where statuary (and possibly other objects) were displayed in harmonious settings to evoke an elaborate message (Lafon, 1981), and the villa of Hadrianus at Tivoli, which was decorated with a *lycaenum*, an *academia*, a *prytaneum*, a *canopus*, a *poecile* and a temple (*Scriptores historiae Augustae, Hadrianus*, 26,5). Collections were a vital element in these attempts of Roman patrons and collectors to recreate in their villas the environment they longed for – be it a *gymnasium*, a library, a *Musaeum* or a garden (also Leach, 2004; Prioux, 2008: 15). The social and ritual role of the Roman house could thus be fulfilled only through collections that would evoke certain feelings, and would

facilitate communication and interrelation by providing well-recognized signifiers for that. In addition, they were expected to signal personal and family power. All these were accomplished through material objects that were expected to bring past and distant ideas, beliefs and accomplishments to the eyes of their owners and visitors. In other words, objects were meant to bring people in touch with their imagination and previous knowledge, their memory.

The mnemotechnics developed by Romans was largely a system connecting material culture (in the form of artefacts and their setting) with memory and the depths of the human mind. Aristoteles' elaborate discussion of places thus was put into practical use in Roman thought, as were the mythical associations of memory (Mnemosyne) with her daughters (Mousai) who could bring a man (usually a poet, or a historian) in contact with other times and places, his inner memory and thought. Roman houses and public buildings were the *loci* where orderly arrangement led to the transference of the viewer to another temporal or spatial dimension, to the reconstruction of memories which would bring in front of him the ideas that would otherwise be lost in λήθη (*lethe*, forgetfulness), the opposite of ἀλήθεια (*aletheia*, truth), but also of memory. In this sense, ancient and modern venues of collections share many similarities, that go beyond the fact that they accommodate collections: they are both venues of social and ritual practices, and rely on material culture to achieve a virtual transference to another world (in temporal and spatial meaning). Both transmit cultural and social messages, aim to facilitate communication between visitors and the social order of things, but also to bring visitors in front of their memory, in front of their past. This is revealed through the evocative power of objects, but also through their selective arrangement in time and space, that corresponds to, and defines cultural valuations. In other words, the architectural layout of a Roman house could, and did, serve as a means for ordering and memorizing speeches, as well as for structuring thought (Elsner, 1995: 77). The Romans used the visual and architectural environment (in the broader sense) to think and remember, in a three-dimensional way.

At this point lies the major issue of collecting in the Roman world: the dichotomy between the public and the private domains. Ancient textual sources discussing issues on collecting are concerned with this dichotomy and their views are remarkably similar: only public collections were acceptable and justified. The idea of public has to be seen through Roman eyes though: in this sense, even collections held in what we would consider a private space, that is a Roman villa, were acceptable when they

had an explicitly social character and lacked any hint of personal attachment to the artifacts, or appreciation that went beyond what was considered rational and "normal". Here we should bear in mind that the notion of domestic privacy as we understand and appreciate it today, was not valid in the Roman world, and that Roman houses were simultaneously private and public spaces. Therefore, collections held in the "public areas" of the Roman house, and addressed to the fulfillment of the social responsibilities and aspirations of the owner, were still acceptable. As a result, certain objects were appropriate for certain settings and others were not. For instance, when Cicero complained to his friend Fabius Gallus about having purchasing statues of *bacchantes* for him, his rejection of the statues was based partly on their price, but partly too on the notion of them being inappropriate objects for the orator's space – he did not know where to accommodate them, they did not "fit" into his surroundings (Cicero, *ad familiares* vii.23). Similar notions define, for instance, the opposition to the plundering of artifacts and the transference of them to individuals' space, or the regret expressed by most writers for those collectors who loved their objects so dearly that they kept them in the *cubicula* (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 43.2, 44.2; *Caligula* 7.1; *Nero* 25.2). Space and objects bear a close interrelationship which holds a wealth of symbolic messages. Objects carry the capacity to evoke the sense of their time and place, which Romans knew and appreciated.

Naturally, the collections held in public buildings attracted much praise, and were associated with honourable motives: Plinius, for instance, approves of the collections in the public domain, since they were products of beneficial interference by emperors and victorious generals, as well as of collections which were the result of the "rightful" spoliation of the enemies of Roma after their defeat on the field of battle (Isager, 1991). Similarly, Cicero (e.g. *tusculanae disputationes* v.101–102) praises the generals of the past for using the spoils of their victorious military campaigns to adorn the city of Roma, and create *monumenta* of their personal magnificence and Roman glory.

In opposition to this, collections meant for private delectation were discouraged, as suspect for encouraging a sinister association with material culture, ignorance or negligence of natural values, and for a lack of rationality. Cicero (e.g. *in Verrem* ii.4) condemns Verres for acquiring his collection by plundering cities during peace time, and for keeping the objects of his pillage for himself, instead of offering them to the public.

In the case of Verres and Cicero therefore, we reach an epitome of the nature of Roman collecting; collections

can be and are used to help their owners structure their identity, memory, past and future; they are indications of power and wealth, they are media of communication with the sacred domain, they are definitions of space use and means of appropriating spatial and temporal distance. But they can also be carriers of negative meaning, when their role is misunderstood and their power unduly used. Unconventional, unlawful, and destructive methods of acquisition, as well as associations that emphasize individuality and egotism above communal ideals and compliance with human-defined valuations, which are nature-oriented, humanistic and carry sacred connotations, are to be condemned. In a surprisingly modern manner, collections acquire their supreme power in the right place, defined as the public, sacred, or semi-sacred realm, where memories of individuals blend to provide identity for communities at a “national” or “international” level – a description remarkably equivalent to that of the “museum”. The dichotomy between collectors and “museums” thus has been firmly founded in the Graeco-Roman past, and its legacy defines many aspects of museum work even today.

The Gift-Exchange Tradition

The notion of object valuation is paramount in the discussion of the fourth of the parameters we set out in the beginning, the gift-exchange tradition. If we examine the presence of the phenomenon in Homeric epic poetry, we quickly realize that there is a specific vocabulary used and a set of values most commonly associated with precious objects: *keimelia* (a word used to denote precious, almost sacred artefacts of the past), kept in the *thalamos* (the palace treasury, but also women’s quarters or funeral chambers), or given as *geras* (prize or trophy) indicate three different categories to which objects should belong in order to be valuable. The first depends on the rank of the persons in whose hands the objects circulated (e.g. *Ilias* vii.149; xi.20–23; xv.532; xxiii.745; *Odysseia* iv.125–6; iv.617–8; xxi.31–33). This gave to objects a similar status to that of their proprietors; they were personified, they acquired an almost civic status (the one their proprietors had). The second category consisted of objects which descended from a god. This meant prestige for the family, which was thus supposed to have divine origin and, consequently, be in special relationship with the divine. Therefore, in this case the emphasis lies on the political aspect of gift exchange, as well as on the competitive character of it (e.g. *Ilias* ii.827; v.266; vii.146; xvi.381; xvi.867; xviii.84; xxiii.277–8; xxiv.74–5). The third category is related to the

competitive aspect of gift exchange, and is indicative of the social contexts for the exchange of gifts. Furthermore, immediately related to the above is the category that can be described by the notion of *mnema*, which means vehicle of memory (remembrance, memorial, but in ancient Greek also tomb). This relates to the inalienability of gifts as bearers of individual and communal identity (e.g. *Ilias* xxiii.619). In other words, objects have the power to mediate between sacred and profane worlds, divine and human realms, to create relationships between people, to carry moral value, and to transfer it to people. The treasuries built in Greek sanctuaries during the 6th century BCE suggest by their presence, name and role that they simply signify another stage in the same tradition. The objects kept in these treasuries, and the buildings themselves, held similar powers: they mediated between men and gods, they developed relations of perpetual dependence, and they carried symbolic meanings. The value of the objects goes beyond their financial worth, derives from their symbolic rather than actual use, and relates to their power to communicate with the “Other”. The main notion remains the one which has been central in the gift-exchange: the objects participating in it are inalienable – although they are given away they never part from their owner (Weiner, 1992). Here we find the roots of their value as carriers of parts of human psyche, and of the notion of prestigious genealogy.

These dimensions are “mythologized” – in myths we come across objects as mediators of interpersonal relations, but also as seals of the mythic character of facts. Gernet (1981) employs myths in his attempt to divulge the origins of value. The myths that he considers all reveal similar patterns: (a) the tripod of the seven sages: brings forward the notion of award, the pattern of successive ownership of the object, the importance of the object as a product of luxurious human industry, but also with religious connotations (possibly due to the very fact that it is a product of the luxurious human industry), its role in relations of antagonism (relations of power); (b) the necklace of Eriphyle reveals the talisman-like nature of object, its role in transfer and installation of royal power, but also the mythic notion of danger associated with it; (c) the ring of Polykrates underlines the role of certain objects as symbols of wealth (the seal ring is particularly so in Mykenaian Greece, as the archaeological discoveries from tombs also emphasize), while it makes the point about objects having a necessary relationship with the world beyond and arising from it – with this seems to be related the idea of throwing precious objects into the water, whose re-emergence might be a bad sign. Finally, (d) the myth of the Golden Fleece brings forth the idea of

the protective *sacra* guarded by a king or king-god, along with the need of holding certain objects as essential symbols of power and royal control. Consequently, objects become parameters of stability, reassurance of the social and individual identity, as well as of the social order and hierarchy.

Conspicuous consumption of precious objects in the form of public dedication in sanctuaries or tombs is a phenomenon which persists throughout history. Roman triumphal processions with the plunder from the East were such public displays of power and consumption. It is from this tradition that the difference between “good” collections and “bad” collections stems: the former were the ones where the *agalmata* (precious statues) were properly used to secure communication with the gods, and circulate in the social sphere; the latter involved destruction of objects through improper use, i.e. hiding them in the house.

Martialis is the writer most explicitly associating the tradition of gift-exchange with object valuation and collections. In his books of epigrams *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, he asserts that giving is the only way of owning, a long-lasting notion associated with gift-exchange, and relates the “true” value of objects with their participation in social practice, namely the relation between patron and client (Sullivan, 1991; for a different reading, associating Martialis’ books to Plinius’ encyclopaedia, see Blake McHam, 2011). His poetry – even in the choice of the genre – stands at the crossroads between real and imaginary worlds, individual and social order, tradition and innovation. Martialis inscribes collecting, through the views expressed in his poetry but also through the poetry itself, into a cultural context that discriminates and privileges objects as parts of social ritual, of display, of social interaction (Bounia, 2004). These collections were propagated as the result of a social phenomenon, deeply committed to the aim of reproducing dialogue between individuals, social order, imagination and the real world (see also Prioux, 2008).

In all epigrams Martialis uses stereotypes. This, by the definition of “stereotype”, favours the assumption that he refers to practices and beliefs widespread in his era. Martialis’ personal agreement with these practices is not obligatory and does not alter their actuality. There is a contradiction in his approach. On the one hand, he appeals for gifts, explicitly recognizes the enhanced value of objects for their artistic quality (this may be a literary convention up to a point, but the choice of this particular genre cannot be absolutely coincidental and might reveal something about his own interests, see also Prioux, 2008: chapters 2–3), and recognises that objects can be

bearers of valuation, personal appreciation, esteem and recognition.

On the other hand, he seems to discourage *nouveaux riches* from believing that objects could transform their ignorance, pretentiousness and vulgarity to refinement, “purity” and, ultimately, could usher in the ideal self. All the collectors he discusses are unworthy and frivolous (Pearce & Bounia, 2000). Among their vices he includes ignorance, pretentiousness, inability to behave properly, avarice and the passion for collecting. Consequently, and although he seems to share the belief in the objects/collections’ capacity to convey the values of their owners, he cynically and relentlessly denies that this could happen the other way round. The objects then are passive bearers of virtues, but not active transmitters of them.

His contradictory approach can be interpreted in two ways (not necessarily mutually exclusive): it may be that Martialis follows the tradition of the early Roman world, when actual appreciation of art and “dependence” on it was something to be blamed for and not boasted of, a sign of contemptible effeminacy and extravagance. Cicero is a good example of such a two-sided approach, as we discussed previously. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that Romans reserved a special appreciation for what was considered “appropriate” (*prepon*). In this sense, although it was appropriate for a cultivated man – and a man of means – to own precious works of art and luxurious items; it was not appropriate for him to “depend” on them, to exaggerate, to be passionately involved in their appreciation. This motif occurs quite often in Martialis’ epigrams, as already discussed above in the examples drawn from Cicero and Petronius as well.

On the other hand, and mainly through the *apophoreta* (*epigrammata* xiv), Martialis seems very much concerned with gifts and objects. All those he mentions have some intrinsic or other quality. In the *apophoreta*, more than anywhere else in his work, though, the social aspect of material culture acquires predominance. No matter whether *apophoreta* were actually “apophoreta”, labels or gifts exchanged, no matter if the book is *ekphrasis* of a collection, constructions of the imagination or a handbook of proper social practice (Mohler, 1927; Lehmann, 1945; Sullivan, 1991; Prioux, 2008), it makes two very interesting points, relating to two practices constantly at the forefront of collecting: the social practice of patronage, and the practice of gift-exchange. Martialis explicitly asserts that giving is the only way of having, revealing the confirmation of a tradition very much in the spirit of the potlatch with all its connotations. Martialis also seems to adumbrate collecting “proper”, as this is defined in the following paragraph by Baudrillard (1994):

Collecting proper emerges at first with an orientation to the cultural: it aspires to discriminate between objects, privileging those which have some exchange value or which are also 'objects' of conservation, of commerce, *of social ritual, of display* – possibly which are even a source of profit. *Such objects are always associated with human projects.* While ceaselessly referring to one another, they admit within their orbit the external dimension of social and human intercourse (1994: 22) (emphasis added).

The poetry of Martialis is an indirect rephrasing of the above paragraph and provides not only an insight into similar practices and beliefs, but also forms the ideology projected. If we add to that the extraordinary and, indeed, unique appeal of his poetry to the men of the Renaissance and onwards (for influence on Winkelman, see Closa Farres, 1987), his influence in the shaping of collecting becomes more obvious.

Conclusions

Dwyer (2012: 308) recently offered a collecting theory consisting of four phases, and used it to analyze collections that the archaeological research has revealed in the Bay of Naples. The four phases are the following: inception, acquisition, display, dispersal. Apart from being the "natural" sequence of actions for a collector to acquire a collection, these four phases are also the interdependent steps of a collection's life. Dwyer argues that the advantage of his model is that it applies universally to collecting while highlighting the distinctive features of the practice of each society, which is thus separated from the practices of other societies. Despite the advantages of such a perspective, we cannot fail to notice that collecting practice is closely connected to ideology. As Clifford (1988: 218) argued "all collections embody hierarchies of values, exclusions, rule-governed territories of the self"; collecting is a "strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture and authenticity". In other words, collecting is not only about how a collection is assembled, but about the choices made to value, preserve and exchange.

In this paper we offered four parameters that influence collecting as a phenomenon of valuation, preservation and exchange, and can be used to analyse collecting in the Roman world. These are: antiquarianism and the use of material culture as mediator between people and their

beliefs regarding the world and their past; individual and communal identity and the power of objects to create and structure this identity; space and time that provide the necessary framework of human cosmological order, also in association with objects; and gift exchange as a social tradition that contributes to object valuation since they are understood as media for the construction of relationships. I argued that using these four parameters will help historians of collections and of museums understand the nature and influence of these institutions.

When it comes to the Roman world, our analysis suggests that collections could be and were used to help their owners structure their identity, personal and communal, memory, past and future; they were expressions of power and wealth, and means of appropriating spatial and temporal distance. They were intended to mediate with the sacred domain, and to empower their owners to accomplish their role as participants in cultural pre-eminence. Their method of acquisition was part of their role and meaning, and therefore, unlawful and destructive methods of acquisition were condemned along with the emphasis on individuality, egotism and human-defined (rather than nature-oriented) values. Collections acquired their supreme power when placed in the right context, that is the public, sacred, or semi-sacred realm, where memories and thoughts of individuals blend together to provide identity for communities. This description corresponds well with the one of contemporary museums.

The study of collecting in the Roman world, its nature and relevance to collecting traditions of subsequent periods, is very rewarding for the researcher, whether it is approached with the stance of a classicist or that of a museologist. In my view, it deserves special consideration; we need to focus on the motives behind the interest in collecting that developed in antiquity, examine the collecting attitudes in the classical world and trace the seeds of this practice and mentality in the shared tradition that runs through European thought. We can thus put the discussion of classical collecting on a broader and deeper foundation than that of the historical circumstances of the short-term. The examination of the immediate implications of this classical mentality to Renaissance collecting also needs to be further explored. Classical collecting can contribute immensely to a more profound appreciation of the history of collecting in the long term, of the origins and cultural character of the museum institution, and of the relationship between societies, individuals and material culture in the Western tradition.

Verres, Cicero and Other Collectors in Late Republican Rome*

Alessandra Lazzeretti

Cicero and Verres

In the *Verrine orations* we can find information about the collections of wealthy provincials, some of whom became *cives romani*, and about the abundance of works of art and precious objects from Sicily and other places in the Roman world where Verres had previously held institutional assignments. The orations are a unique testimony not only of the works of art and precious objects obtained by the accused, but also of how (often doubtful and unclear) the ruling class of the late Roman Republic, now deeply “Hellenized” (Paoletti, 2003: 1019 n. 18), engaged in collecting. In addition, the correspondence of Cicero provides evidence for his own collecting practices.

Although antithetic in many aspects, Verres and Cicero, emblematic figures of their time (Favaretto, 2002: 22–23), shared great competence in matters of art (even if this aspect has sometimes been doubted about Verres due to Cicero’s biased prosecution account, there should be no doubts about his preparation in the subject; see, for example, Paoletti, 2003: 1000, 1002; Robert, 2009: 63–69) and the passion of collecting. Nevertheless, their approaches to collecting were very different – even opposite – due to their own particular personalities and the cultural milieu they habitually frequented.

During his journey in Greece and in Asia Minor (79–77 BCE) to support his studies, Cicero visited places in the Greek world (Athenai, Rhodos, Smyrne) which were famous for their works of art and personally met neo-attic artists such as Pasiteles and Arkhelaos, through whom he refined his artistic taste. His direct contact with Greek art continued in Sicily in 75 BCE, when he was *quaestor* in Lilybaion.

Verres’ Sicilian Booty and Its Collocation

Verres first met the world of the Greek art during his *legatio Asiatica* accompanying Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella in 80 BCE (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1.41–102) and then, between 73 and 71 BCE, when he was Sicily’s governor. Astounding is the quantity, the quality, and the variety of works of art and precious objects of which the *propraetor*, driven by a passion which bordered on *cupiditas*, appropriated from the island (for a summary see Paoletti, 2003: 1010, table 1, 1011, table 2; Bounia, 2004: 278–279; Lazzeretti, 2006: figs. 39–40). Verres urged the provincials to give him whatever attracted his attention whether it be for the work’s high artistic prestige (Miles, 2008: 168–169), its intrinsic value (Paoletti, 2003: 1002; Miles, 2008: 163–164), its antiquity (Miles, 2008: 163), its artistic attribution, or other elements, such as the fame of its previous owners. If we only consider the specific cases mentioned by Cicero, Verres robbed not only the original sculptures of famous Greek artists, like the statues by Praxiteles, Myron, Polykleitos from the *sacrarium domesticum* of Caius Heius in Messene, and the *Sappho* by Silanion from the *prytaneum* of Syrakousai, but also statues by unknown sculptors, such as the one which was stolen from *Liso* of Lilybaion or those robbed from the sanctuaries and the public areas of Segesta, Himera, Tyndaris, Akragas, Assorus, Henna and Syrakousai. The situation is similar for the *tabulae* depicting the *pugna equestris Agatocli regis* and the 27 portraits of Sicilians kings and tyrants sacked from the Athenaion of Syrakousai with the *valvae* of the temple, the *Attalica peripetasmata* also from Caius Heius and other valuable fabrics from Quintus Caecilius Dio of Halaisa and Heraclius of Syrakousai, Hiero II’s *phalerae* stolen from Philarcus of Centuripae and others from Aristus of Panormos and Cratippus of Tyndaris, the *hydria* by Boethos of Kalkhedon taken from Pamphilus from Lilybaion, the *pocula Thericlia*, or embossed silverware, made by Mentor, owned by Diodorus of Malta, the *eculei argentei* – the silver glasses terminating in a horse head – that once belonged to Quintus Maximus, probably the *Cunctator*, robbed from the Roman *eques* Cnaeus Calidius; the *candelabrum* studded with jewels and other precious objects stolen from the prince *Antiochus* of Syria when

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he stopped in Sicily, returning from Roma, the ivory tusks of an incredible size and the *graminae hastae* plundered from the Fanum Iunonis of Malta, and bronzes from Delos and Korinthos (about the corinthian bronze see, for example, Bounia, 2004: 195–196), or the *emblemata* detached from censers and the *paterae* and *sigilla* removed from *patellae*, rings.

How did all of these works of art and all these precious items stolen by Verres during the three years in Sicily disappear? What about all the art which he had already robbed during his *legatio Asiatica* in the year 80 BCE? What about the year 74 BCE, during his *praetura urbana* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,103–158), described by Cicero as a period of plundering of temples and public buildings (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,12)? Finally, where did all those goods (*rebus omnibus*) which he robbed *undique* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.3,9) end up?

According to Cicero, many went to his urban *domus* and to his numerous *villae* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,6: “domum deinde atque ad suas villas auferebant”; ii.4,126: “Verres haec habeat domi, Verres ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum habeat plenam domum, villas refertas”; ii.4,36: “multa ad villas tuas positas”; ii.1,57: “in tuis tectis”). Many of Verres’ statues and paintings adorned the Forum and the Comitium (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.3,9). Many works of art were deposited by Verres with his friends in their villas (“multa deposita apud amicos”, “in suburbana amicorum”, Cicero *in Verrem* ii.1,54; cf. ii.1,57: “in amicorum tuorum tectis”; ii.3,9: “vestras villas” etc.). Many were donated to others (*in Verrem* ii.4,3: “multa aliis data atque donata”). A small number of *villae*, as Cicero emphasized, were so full of numerous and beautiful works plundered from Romans’ most faithful allies that they seemed to contain the entirety of Asia, Greece and Sicily (*in Verrem* ii.5,127: “totam denique Asia, Achaïam, Graeciam, Siciliam, tam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis?”). Verres’ silver collections adorned banquets (*in Verrem* ii.3,9: “huius argento dominia vestra?”).

Following Cicero we can start our research with Verres’ dwellings. Unfortunately the location of his *domus* in Roma (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,51; 54) is unknown (Eck, 1995) and there are no clues to reconstruct its appearance, although we can imagine it was large and sumptuous, suited to the rank of its owner, an *eques* son of a senator. In addition to an *atrium* (Cicero *in Verrem* ii.1,61) and a *peristylum* (*in Verrem* ii.1,50–51), both of them characteristic of important Roman *domus*, no elements of explicit description of Verres’ urban house are provided by Cicero (the only source we have), except for the presence of a “green space” (Papi, 1998: 45–47, 61 and n. 84), indicated by the Latin noun *silva* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,51)

which probably was a grove with trees arranged regularly, “all’italiana?” (Carandini, 2010: 298).

During the same period a *silva* is known in Atticus’ dwelling (not sumptuous but known for its *amoenitas* due to the *silva* itself) on the Quirinal (the so-called Domus Tampiliana, which Atticus had inherited from an uncle, Cicero *ad Atticum* iii.20, dated 20 October 58 BCE, placed between the Temple of Salus and that of Quirinus on the corner of Clivus Salutatis and Alta Semita, Cicero, *ad Atticum* iv.1–4; xi.45,3; see Grimal, 1984³: 110, 137 with notes) and another one in Augustus’ *domus* on the Palatine (Carandini, 2010: 298). Possessing a *silva* in one’s own home was, as far as we know, the prerogative of only a few; its presence signified his social *status* and his wealth. Like in Atticus’ abode, probably Verres’ *silva* was a relic of the past (Grimal, 1984³: 110), unimaginable in a densely populated neighbourhood, which could suggest, for Verres’ *domus*, a location in an area not too central.

With *villae* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,36; 58; 126; also ii.1,38) Cicero indicated numerous other Verres’ properties, one of which, acquired during the proscriptions, was probably in Beneventum (Shatzman, 1975: 436, 454) or in any case in Campania. The other unknown *villae* also had to be in popular places of that time.

Cicero personally saw in Velia the huge cargo ship offered as gift from Messene with which Verres left Sicily at the end of his *propraetura*. The vessel sailed with the objects of his robberies, his raids and his thefts, all those things which he did not want to send to Roma earlier on with the rest of the booty, because they were very dear and they gave him great pleasure (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.5,44). But Cicero didn’t mention where exactly Verres had placed in his urban house the works of art and the precious objects plundered in Sicily. It is presumed (Robert, 2009: 61 and n. 73 with previous bibliography) that in the 70 BCE he did not have enough time to place in urban house his precious Sicilian loot.

Verres’ Asian Booty and Its Collocation

Even before his *praetura*, Verres’ urban *domus* was already full of beautiful statues (Cicero *in Verrem* ii.4,36: “domus plena signorum pulcherrimorum iam ante praeturam”) plundered during his *legatio Asiatica* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,51). Cicero saw them personally when, not long before (*nuper*) he was there to affix the *sigilla* (*in Verrem* ii.1,50). They were “ad omnes columnas, omnibus etiam intercolumniis, in silva denique disposita sub divo” (*in Verrem* ii.1,51), placed, not only at each column and between the columns, against the *impluvium* in the *atrium*, but also

against the colonnade of the *peristylum* and in the open air of the garden. It's not possible to determine the logic (either increasing the collection or having a specific project) by which the works of art and the precious objects were arranged in the *domus* (Lafon, 1981: 154).

The oratorical and juridical aims of the lawyer are clear: he wanted to show how great was the quantity of the Asian loot that Verres possessed – to the point that it seemed to occupy the entire surface of the house, as if no free space remained because the plundered statues crowded both the inside and the outside. In fact, Cicero seems to suggest such a certain heaping of sculptures (see Robert, 2007: 15 for the use of the verbs *coacervare* and *colligere* in *in Verrem* ii.4,54 about the silverware stolen by Verres; in *Verrem* ii.3,9: “circumfluere atque abundare”) and, therefore, an arrangement not too harmonious but chaotic and thus indecorous, not only for their doubtful provenance, but also for their display which was reprehensible and far from its ornamental function (Robert, 2007: 15–16). There is evidence of the lack of *decor* and moderation, both of them fundamental concepts in Cicero's thought (Bounia, 2004: 130 with sources, especially *de officiis* i.93–151). The lawyer didn't criticize the collection but what's defined as Verres' “collecting paradigm”, which made him a “bad” collector (Bounia, 2004: 288–289). Cicero didn't condemn such collections but rather those collectors who succumb to their desires, losing their moderation. Among them, for example, is Lucius Cornelius Chrysogonus, rich *libertus* of Sulla and prototype of *parvenu* contemporaries of Verres and Cicero. His house on the Palatine (see briefly Carandini, 2010: 90) was described (Cicero, *pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 133) as full of luxurious furnishings which he loved to show during his wild banquets, prepared and served by an army of slaves: vases of Korinthos and Delos, silverware, paintings, statues, precious fabrics, marble.

The report about the thefts committed by Verres during his *legatio Asiatica* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,45–54, revived, briefly, in *in Verrem* ii.4,71), defined as “a catalogue which enlarge the Verres' crimes to the size of the Empire” (Grimal, 1996: 97), is as impressive (Miles, 2008: 130) in quantity and quality as that of Sicily, especially considering the short period (a year, 80 BCE, against three, 73–71 BCE) during which these thefts were committed; much greater, however, is the geographical space (from the Greek mainland to the islands and Asia) where Verres engaged in his acquisitions.

Statues and paintings were plundered from Akhaia and a large amount of gold from the Parthenon (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,45). The theft of statues from the Fanum Apollinis in Delos (*in Verrem* ii.1,46), instead, failed. In Asia Verres stole statues – only defined as beautiful (no

more information is given about them) – from Khios, Erythrai, Halicarnassus; from Tenedos, a Northern Aegean island, a statue of exquisite manufacture representing the eponymous deity Tene, which was placed in Roma at the Comitium (*in Verrem* ii.1,49). His thefts culminated in the *expugnatio* (this war word was used voluntarily by Cicero) of the Fanum Iunonis in Samos (*in Verrem* ii.1,50), from where paintings and statues were stolen, the same *tabulae* and *signa* which, as we have already realized, Cicero saw personally in Verres' *domus* when he went there to affix the *sigilla* (*in Verrem* ii.1,50). The plunder extended from the *fanum* to the whole city. Verres didn't leave a single statue in Aspendos or in Pamphylia, robbing everything both from sanctuaries and from public places. Cicero indicated the subject of only one, that which represented a cythera-player, placed by Verres “in intimis suis aedibus” (*in Verrem* ii.1,53). From the Temple of Artemis in Perge, in Pamphylia, he stole all the gold (*in Verrem* ii.1,54).

According to Cicero, all those statues were in Verres' urban *domus* when he thought he could control the conclusions of the judges (*in Verrem* ii.1,51). But then, realizing that the lawyer would prove his accusations and would have eventually called to witness the Verres' *familiarissimi*, habitués of his house, about the statues (*in Verrem* ii.1,61), he hid them all (Weis, 2003: 381 and Miles, 2008: 189 refer to a sale but Cicero did not use a verb to indicate it), except two, placed in *mediis aedibus*, which were part of what was stolen from the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (*in Verrem* ii.1,51: “nullum signum domi reliquisti, praeter duo quae in mediis aedibus sunt, quae ipsa Samo sublata sunt”). These two, far from the others, as Cicero says, were in the dark where Verres had hidden them (*in Verrem* ii.1,7). They were awaiting the *sector*, the vendor of confiscated properties (*in Verrem* ii.1,61).

In the *Verrine orations* Cicero (ii.1,52) directly mentioned two key figures who were involved in the judicial process: the tax officer and the vendor of confiscated property (“quaestorem sectoremque”). The information about this important aspect of the legal rules which regulated the confiscation of properties from the accused and their sale after the guilty verdict is scanty. The law provided for the return of the money extorted (*in Verrem* ii.4,17): the *litis aestimatio* was the procedure by which the amount that the accused should give back to those damaged should he be found guilty. In particular, it's not clear what happened when they knew the rightful owners of works of art and precious objects, although we can imagine that the law provided for the return of what was wrongly stolen.

The allusion to darkness has been interpreted (Robert, 2007: 28) as a reference to the relegation, made by Verres,

in his private apartments of the public property of the Roman people, isolating in his own *privata luxuria* what belonged to the *publica magnificentia*. But the image of the darkness surrounding the statues does not seem to refer to the inside of the Verres' urban *domus* (certainly well-lighted); rather, from the text it is clear that the statues placed in darkness are not those still in the house but the ones which have been moved by the accused. So the image of darkness may allude to something else and indicate that Verres probably hid them in a sort of storage or warehouse.

Cicero furnished us with very few clues to concretely identify the location in Verres' urban *domus* of the works of art plundered in 80 BCE. He informed us that the two statues from the Fanum Iunonis in Samos were "in mediis aedibus" (*in Verrem* ii.1,51) and the cythera-player from Aspendos was "in intimis suis aedibus" (*in Verrem* ii.1,53).

In the *Verrine orations* ii.1,61 it is further specified that the two statues once posed in front of the doors of the Fanum Iunonis were located by Verres "ad impluvium" in the *atrium* (Miles, 2008: 189), the central place in the *domus* with the greatest value for the "public". One of its functions (see for example, Bounia, 2004: 158, 169 n. 54 with sources) was to impress visitors with the wealth, the power and the importance of the owner of the house; it was the site of gods (*lararium*) and the place devoted to the *mos maiorum* with the portraits and masks of the ancestors.

This choice does not seem to be random at all. The two sculptures which once welcomed the devotees entering the Fanum Iunonis in Samos, now welcome the visitors of Verres' house at the entrance of the *atrium*. Without any information about it, we can only affirm that Verres kept a place for the two statues similar to the original however converting it to an absolutely private use in this most public area of the *domus* (for the relationship between public-private and sacred-profane see Zaccaria Ruggiu, 1995; Bounia, 2004: 203–210). Probably Verres deliberately choose them to be seen first by those who visited his home: the two sculptures, of which there is no information concerning the material, had to be remarkable for quality and manufacture. Probably they received their important position also because they were already a pair and they could be placed one on the right and one on the left of the *impluvium*.

The cythera-player plundered from Aspendos (about which we know little other than that it was on public display) was placed by Verres "in intimis suis aedibus" (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1,53). What did Cicero mean by this comment which is vague for us but obvious for a Roman in that period? Could it possibly be in the most secret

place of his house, the *cubiculum* (his bedroom)? This is what happened in the Imperial Era with Tiberius and the *Apoxyomenos* by Lysippos (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.62) and some paintings by Parrasios (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 44,2; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.70) which the Emperor placed in his bedroom. While the paintings were bought by Tiberius (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.70), the *Apoxyomenos* was moved from the Baths of Agrippa in front of which it had stood, and was replaced with another statue. This appropriation was challenged by the Romans who forced the Emperor to return the sculpture to where Agrippa had placed it originally (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.62). Later, other well-known examples include Caligula and Nero. Some of the owners literally fell in love with their own collection of objects kept in the bedroom (see Bounia, 2004: 157, 169 n. 50, 190, 197).

Among the many uses of the *cubiculum*, was the exhibition of works of art for the owner, his family and a small group of people with the same rank (Rigsby, 1997: 38–39). Elsewhere in the *Verrines* Cicero did not mention the *cubiculum* in Verres' urban *domus* but he did describe Verres' *cubiculum* in his Syracusan dwelling during his *propraetura* to which Apronius (*in Verrem* ii.3,23), women and the tax collectors had access (*in Verrem* ii.3,56) and where Verres satisfied not only his own sexual pleasures but also those related to economic profit.

An important and singular behaviour (as well as a precedent for the emperors) which has never been analysed before, can be seen in what happened with the cythera-player plundered from Aspendos. In my opinion, the adjective "intimus" indicates unequivocally that the statue was not in the public part of the *domus* but in the private. Probably this location was inspired by Greek and oriental culture – for example, Philippos II of Makedonia usually slept with a golden cup under his pillow (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxx.50) and Alexandros the Great used (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.48) statues as holders of his tent (Gualandi, 2001: 515 n. 378; Bounia, 2004: 191).

Cicero explicitly addressed the judges as if they knew the sculpture well. These statues had been made famous by texts and descriptions (Robert, 2007: 18); their celebrity must have been an additional attraction to Verres' greed: *Sappho* by Silanion in Syrakousai (*in Verrem* ii.4,127), famous for an epigram which accompanied it, the wings of the door of the Athenaion of the province capital city, subject of numerous *ekphraseis* (*in Verrem* ii.4,124), the *Zeus Urios*, still in Syrakousai (*in Verrem* ii.4,129), which was ideally in a series of "tria in orbe terrarum signa" representing the father of the gods.

In this circumstance, Cicero did not inform us about the material used for the statue, but gave us information

about some of its iconographic elements: using a Greek expression, he notes that the cythera-player was playing only “from the internal side of the lyre” (*in Verrem* ii.1.53). “Intus canere”, in fact, properly means “playing muted”: the player, with a remarkable virtuosity, plucks the strings of the instrument from the inside, resulting in a particular muffled sound. The expression was used in a figurative and proverbial sense which refers to somebody who hid his own theft and thought only of his own advantages (Pseudo-Asconius in *Pseudoasconiana*, 1909: 237, cf. the same used by Cicero himself, *de lege agraria* ii.68). The explicit mentioning of the subject of this statue thus appears functional to the Ciceronian irony: the fact supplied the opportunity for one of the puns, typical of every lawyer, but particularly favoured by him (Haury, 1955; Scuderi, 1994: 129–130 with notes 55–64), to put the accused in a bad light. Instead of a single word, which directly indicates the place of the statue in the *domus*, Cicero used the circumlocution “in intimis suis aedibus” precisely in terms of this pun: the subject of the harpist of Aspendos seems to be particularly appropriate for Verres, who hid his thefts and thought only of his own advantage.

The only sculpture plundered during the *legatio Asia-tica* which Cicero explicitly indicated came from a public place was Tene, once located in Roma in the Comitium (*in Verrem* ii.1.49). It was one of those sculptures, like many others in the *Verrines*, as, for example, those placed in public in *Thermae* (*in Verrem* ii.2.83–118), which embodied the civic identity of the community (Robert, 2007: 19) to which they belonged. Tenedos’ population, in fact, reacted with high protests for the undue appropriation. When Cicero reviewed his speeches for publication (probably not long after Verres’ escape, which proved his guilt) in the closing months of the year 70 BCE, the statue was not in the Comitium, as clearly indicated by *quondam*. We are not aware of the time, the circumstances and the context of its location. It may have been used in a temporary exposition to celebrate an aedileship (Bounia, 2004: 74; Miles, 2008: 177).

It is assumed that here Cicero chose four isolated specific cases of placement of works of art plundered by Verres in Asia to represent the full range of statistical possibilities: two statues at the entrance of the *atrium* in the urban house, clearly visible to anyone who entered in his *domus*; a statue kept inside the same house, but placed in the private part of it, accessible only to its owner, and to a few of his *familiarissimi*; finally, a statue from a public area in the city, the Comitium, highly visible, although very crowded with sculptures, which were gradually

accumulating. The statues are also another case of study: the two that stood outside the *Fanum Iunonis* certainly had a sacred value, the cythera-player and Tene, however, a civic value.

Verres’ Contemporaries: *Publica Magnificentia* and Villa Collections

It is not certain whether the public location of *Tene* was either stable and permanent, at least for a certain period of time (months or years), or temporary, limited to the days reserved for the *aedilis*’ games. Certainly Cicero (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1.58–59; ii.3.9; Cicero, *Brutus* 318; Cicero, *de officiis* i.57; Sallustius, *historiae* ii.45–47) mentioned statues and paintings, unfortunately unspecified, which the accused lent to Hortensius to embellish the Forum and the Comitium during the games for his aedileship, probably *curulis*, in 75 BCE (*MRR*, 2: 97, 98, n. 2). Those beautiful ornaments were, however, “ad sensum cogitationemque acerbo et lugubri” because they were “omnia furtis . . . , praeda provinciarum, spoliis sociorum atque amicorum” stolen during the *legatio Asiatica* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.1.58). *Hortensius*’ case was not the only one. Pseudo-Asconius (in *Pseudoasconiana*, 1909: 238, 8–12: “nam aedili atque praetori Hortensio et item Metellis rapta ex provinciis signa ad ornandum forum et comitium commodaverat Verres. Olim enim cum in foro ludi populo darentur, signis ac tabulis pictis partim ab amicis partim e Grecia commodatis utebantur ad scaenae speciem, qui adhuc theatra non fuerant”) testified, in fact, that Verres lent plundered statues to the *Metelli* during their *praetura*.

These loans of works of art from Verres to prominent people who supported him had, of course, a political importance both for those who made them and for those who received (and, we suppose, encouraged) them. For Verres it was a way to maintain good relations with members of the more relevant *gentes* and to get their protection as well as to obtain personal prestige (after public display, in fact, the art “would be returned to Verres . . . and thus associated with him in popular memory”, Miles, 2008: 211); for those who benefited, it constituted an indispensable aid to boost their prestige and to gain popular favour.

Hortensius was one of those who benefited from Verres’ gifts of works of art in the private sphere. In his *suburbana* and in the *villae* of Verres’ friends, there were other works of art. Some of them were deposited by him in his friends’ dwellings (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4.36: “multa deposita apud amicos”), apparently temporarily, and many may have been given to them (*in Verrem* ii.1.54: “in suburbana

amicorum"; ii.1.57: "in amicorum tuorum tectis") permanently (for Weis, 2003: 390, the difference exists).

With his comments, Cicero appears to show the possible various cases of what happened to Verres' stolen objects. After depositing some works in friends' homes, Verres probably no longer still considered himself the owner, though maybe he reserved the right to have them back. It is also possible that these friends were "perhaps either some real accomplice in the sacking carried out". In other cases, we suspect "that this circulation alludes to a wider market and to a sort of traffic of works of art arriving in Italy, a well-known practice at that time" (Paoletti, 2003: 1001). We know that, at least in one case the gift made to a friend was chosen with particular attention to the receiver and his main business: the Sphinx donated to Hortensius, from which he never separated, even on his journeys (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.48; also Quintilianus, *institutio oratoria* vi.98; Ploutarkhos, *Cicero* 7; Ploutarkhos, *ethika* 15; Ploutarkhos, *Cicero* 11, 205b).

The figure of Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, the most famous exponent of his *gens*, allows us to focus on the noble contemporaries of Verres and Cicero. Described by sources as a rich man who clearly enjoyed his wealth, he adorned numerous dwellings with works of art for which he didn't spare expense, such as the painting of the *Argonautai*, probably by the Greek painter Kydias, bought for 144,000 sesterces (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.130) for his *villa* in Tusculum. We can surmise from Seneca (Seneca, *controversiae* i.praef. 19) and Quintilianus (*institutio oratoria* xi.2.24) that Hortensius was passionate about art since at the end of an auction he was able to summarize the sales orders, purchase items, their prices and their buyers (Weis, 2003: 365).

Hortensius was not ashamed of his luxury which was also expressed in passion for works of art. Cassius Dio is the only source (Carandini, 2010: 210) for a relevant episode of 55 BCE that has not yet been studied and related to the history of collecting. 55 BCE was the second year of Pompeius and Crassus (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] xxxix.37.2–3) and in the legislative proposals they forward there was one, unspecified, which was aimed at cutting down the costs of luxury, which had become very high (xxxix.37.2): it would seem to be a sumptuary law proposal. Hortensius demonstrated their expensive habits and their opulent standard of living and persuaded them to abandon the legislative initiative (*historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] xxxix.37.3). In fact, they were ashamed because his objections hit the mark and they voluntarily withdrew so that nobody could suppose that the consuls wanted to prevent others from

enjoying the same goods themselves already enjoyed (*historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] xxxix.37.4). In this passage Hortensius appears as the only one who condemned, probably in the Senate, the hypocrisy of sumptuary laws and their anachronism in the middle of the 1st century BCE.

In the end, "multa aliis data atque donata" (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4.36), many of Verres' objects were given away to others, not for friendship or acquaintance, but for political reasons – to acquire political support (Robert, 2007: 28; Robert, 2009: 56–63). There are many elements which allow us to hypothesize that Verres was a provider of works of art. Cicero often referred to the enormous number of works of art and precious objects appropriated by Verres; large amounts which, in Cicero's accusatory intentions, were designed to emphasize and multiply the guilt of the accused, but, in our opinion, can also be a sign of the ambiguity of Verres' collecting and they can hide, through deliberately ambiguous clues, his role as a provider of works of art for others, not as a real merchant (according to Weis, 2003), but most probably an intermediary involved in this kind of trafficking in favour of the exponents of the *nobilitas* (Robert, 2009: 59).

Although he boasted in public a fairly high confidence, after the delivery of the first speech, without waiting for the sentencing, Verres went into exile in Marseille, where he lived undisturbed for 26 years (until 43 BCE) surrounded by his illegally gained wealth. The fact that his behaviour was not only tolerated and not even opposed, and that, after the process, he was able to conserve much of his goods for a long time could further prove that he had carried out his thefts for a vast market of buyers inside the elite of the Roman government. Behaving illegally, Verres could also obtain some works of art not available on the regular official market.

The Official Art Market

It is true that the Roman victory over the Greek cultural world, with the military plunder suffered in many places from the third to the 1st-century BCE, made available a large number of masterpieces. Some were not confiscated by the victorious party but rather sold by those communities to pay off debts contracted during the war. Well-known is the case of the inhabitants of Knidos who refused the tempting offer from Nikomedes I, King of Bithynia 280–250 BCE, to purchase the chose up *Aphrodite of Knidos* by Praxiteles (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.20–21). In very different circumstances in the first half of the first

century BCE, the inhabitants of Sikyon decided otherwise. Sikyon, with its famous school of painting where among others Apelles had studied, had accrued a huge debt during the war of Sulla against Mithridates, King of Pontus (88–85 BCE). In order to redress its financial situation, the paintings in the public *pinacotheca* were auctioned. Marcus Aemilius Scaurus bought them and exhibited them during his aedileship in 58 BCE (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.127). In a very similar manner, because of an economic crisis, the state of Portugal now chose to sell its collection of paintings by Joan Miró to replenish its national funds. None of the places mentioned by Cicero as plundered by Verres during his *legatio Asiatica*, however, needed to sell their works of art; especially statues with sacred value.

But it is also true that in normal circumstances and in peace it could be difficult to find original Greek works of art on the official market. In the *Verrine orations*, Cicero repeatedly put emphasis on the fact that Verres' victims would have never agreed to sell those works of art which the governor claimed to have purchased by paying for them in regular manner. Caius Heius of Messene, for example, was rich, had no debts, had never promoted any auction, and was only accustomed to sell the agricultural products from his lands. Even if he had not been in this condition, he would never have sold the precious Greek originals of his *sacrarium* (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4.11). The main defence of Verres – that he had bought those sculptures – is not consistent with the rest of facts. Not only were the purchases not annotated in his *tabulae* or accounting registries, but also they were priceless works of art which the owner would never put on the market.

That the practice of auctioning goods during an economic crisis was common is confirmed by Cicero's correspondence. In a letter addressed to Atticus (Cicero, *ad Atticum* xi.25,3), dated 5 July 47 BCE, Cicero alluded to the silverware and numerous furnishings ("ex argento atque satis multa ex supellectile") which, in a time of economic difficulty (Narducci, 2003: 131 n. 34), he planned to auction (cf. also Cicero, *ad Atticum* xi.24,3). In the late Republican period however only in exceptional cases were valuable goods made available on the official market by owners in need of money.

The role of copyists, which had the duty to replicate Greek statues and paintings, became important thanks to the lack of Greek originals on the official market and to high prices. There were many other factors which favoured the market for copied works of art: among these, the different approach which the Roman world had concerning the idea of the original and copy and the desire to make use of the best subject in relation with its

location or with a particular figurative theme (Gualandi, 2001: 128–129).

Cicero's Collecting Practice

The desire to own Greek works or copies animated many Roman collectors including Cicero himself, a well-known creator of figurative plans which manifest his sensibility to the Greek cultural world (De Maria, 1993: 221). Cicero's correspondence offers us useful information about the current practices of that time regarding works of art and the purchase of precious objects' through what can be defined as the official market. Cicero involved his friends or intermediaries to purchase works of art and objects of artistic craftsmanship, from time to time giving them precise instructions on the subject, the nature (paintings, statues, silverware, and furniture), the price, and the number of works which he wished to purchase.

Rich in this regard is the dense correspondence with Titus Pomponius Atticus who for a long time was his agent on the market of Athenai (repeated requests between 68 and 65 BCE), holding the roles of buyer, shipping agent and artistic advisor (Everitt, 2003: 102). Also interesting but not quite so rich, is the correspondence with Marcus Fabius Gallus, who is seen to be unskilled and inexperienced in buying (Cicero, *ad familiares* vii.23,1).

Cicero's correspondence with Atticus shows that he was looking for sculptures more suitable to decorate and to adorn his favourite residence, the villa in Tusculum, bought in 68 BCE. This villa had previously belonged to Sulla (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxii.12), but the shape and the exact location is unknown (Narducci, 2003: 125; Mangiatordi, 2003: 221 n. 37 for the sources and the vast literature about it, 222 n. 40). In addition to the main *atrium* where Sulla had commissioned a painting of an episode of the war against the Marsi, in which the army wanted to honour him with a crown (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxii.11) (Narducci, 2003: 120 n. 6; Mangiatordi, 2003: 226 n. 89), it had an *atriolum* (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.10,3) or secondary *atrium* containing the *putealia sigillata* and the bas-reliefs in marble (probably made by neo-attic artists), the purchase of which was commissioned by Atticus (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.10,3).

The villa was furnished as was usual at that time with *ambulationes* (Cicero, *ad Atticum* xiii.29,1), or covered porches, a variant of which was the *gymnasium*, and with a garden intended to encourage philosophical *otium*. On two different floors of Tusculanum, there were even two *gymnasia*, which Cicero had called symbolically the *Academia* (the one placed on a lower floor, cf. Cicero,

Tusculanae disputationes iii.7; iii.29) and the Lyceum (a *superium gymnasium* cf. Cicero, *de divinatione* i.8), as a tribute to the two philosophical schools of Athenai founded respectively by Platon and Aristoteles. Clearly he wished to recreate the atmosphere of Athenai which he had come to know during his stay in 79 BCE. “It was not an imitation, but rather a way to transfer big ideas in a private space, more intimate, dedicated to the goddess Polias of Athenai, honoured as Ergane in a sanctuary on the Akropolis which Cicero tried to evoke in his Tusculanum, re-proposing its statuary plans” (La Rocca, 1986: 19; Grimal, 1984³: 251, 364 n. 2).

The correspondence with Atticus, which began in the year he purchased Tusculanum, shows Cicero's growing impatience typical then as now of any true collector (see Narducci, 2003: 126–127). Cicero was extremely impatient as he was buying the works and then, after his trusted friend bought the works of art, he was anxious to receive them, once they finally arrived by sea from Greece (Gualandi, 2001: 123).

For reasons of space it is not possible to retrace the content of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus in chronological order. However, we can note that among the works of art bought by Atticus, was a *Hermathena*, as Cicero called it: a bust of Athena, an appropriate ornament for his *gymnasium*. There, as Cicero wrote to his friend, shortly before the 17 July of 65 BCE (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.1,5), the statue “will find its worthy place in the location chosen with such good taste that the *gymnasium* will seem ‘an original *temenos*’ to the goddess”. All the gardens and, in particular, those of the *gymnasia* were dedicated to a god (Grimal, 1984³: 357 n. 34, cf. also: 77): Athena is the goddess who ruled Cicero's *gymnasium*.

But Cicero's decorative choices not only demonstrate his longing for his “golden days” spent in Athenai (Bounia, 2004: 160 with previous bibliography; Marvin, 1989). The sculpture is not only a *signum* whose location turned the place into a place of culture (Bravi, 2012: 24). In addition to the function of evoking to cultured visitors (it's not superfluous to recall that even in the library of Pergamon a statue of Athena dominated the entire gallery in a privileged position, see Wojcik, 1986: 150 and n. 155 with previous bibliography) the Academy of Athena, which included a sanctuary of the goddess, the *Hermathena* probably also represented a personal pre-occupation (Narducci, 2003: 128; Bravi, 2012: 22–24), as we will see in Cicero's urban *domus*. The *villa* also contained what Cicero called *Hermerakles*, another bust, representing *Herakles* (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.8,2), a subject (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.10,3) considered as the most suitable to decorate not only a *hortus*, but also a *palaestra* or a *gymnasium*. Probably *Hermathena* and *Hermerakles*, typical

“ornamenta gymnasiode” (Neudecker, 2013: 242), are to be identified with the herms of Pentelic marble with bronze heads (referred in Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.8,2) (Mangiatoridi, 2003: 238), whilst the unspecified *signa Megarica* probably included images of writers and/or philosophers. Although there is no explicit indication by Cicero, it could be argued that in the Academy and in the Lyceum were images of the founders of the schools of philosophy in the form of statues or busts.

The figurative program of the Villa of Papyri at Herculaneum is an interesting archaeological comparison. Its rectangular *peristylum* was adorned with marble herms representing Athena and Herakles. It held copies of famous statues flanked by other statues of Hestia and of Hermes: a couple of them represented the public sphere, or *negotium*, and others, the private one, or *otium* (Wojcik, 1986: 74). Athena personified “the power of wisdom, or rather, the *metis*, the intelligence and the effectiveness of opening to the outside world, in the domain of action”; the group Athena/Hestia, in particular, “seems to be the exemplification of an ideal rather loved by Cicero, that of *prudentia* (Cicero, *de re publica* ii.67; vi.1) and *moderatio* as virtues of a “politikos aner”, the only virtues which can “renovare rem publicam” (Wojcik, 1986: 74 and n. 127 with previous bibliography; notes 128–129). The villa also included Herms – philosophers' portraits and orators' statues.

It was observed that Cicero's requests were “always oriented on a set of well-defined concepts”: *convenientia* to place (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.5,7; i.9,2; i.10,3) and the adaptation to *studium*. These were not considered as a taste or a passion but rather as an “intellectual interest” (De Maria, 1993: 220; Bounia, 2004: 291) on which his figurative program is based and which he wanted to achieve (Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.8,2).

The analysis of Cicero's behaviour and the choices he made for the Tusculanum, have appeared for some as exceptional (Zanker, 1997: 237), and for others as typical of Roman taste (Marvin, 1989: 32–33). His statue purchases seem to show “that Cicero was looking for personalization ideas of what, even in other aristocratic homes, was relatively standardized and repetitive decoration”, in terms of the nature of subjects “intended to evoke Hellenism and to signify a ‘social’ membership instead of an ‘intellectual’ one” (Narducci, 2003: 132–133).

The sculptures requested by Cicero were not chosen for aesthetic or formal reasons, but rather for the perfect affinity between their meaning and subject and the overall meaning of the space. The fundamental function given by Cicero to the sculptures, in fact, was “to suggest and to evoke a cultural atmosphere”: therefore, the congruence between subject and space in which the sculptures were

to be included, is the most important element to be considered, “meant as a projection of the owner’s personality” (Narducci, 2003: 129).

In these evocative spaces (Bounia, 2004: 293), therefore, the purchases made in Greece imprudently and on his own initiative by Gallus (Cicero, *ad familiares* vii.23,1) – four or five statues of *bacchantes* and a sculpture of *Mars* – could not be included. As Cicero expressly stated in a famous epistle (a real manifesto of how he considered his collecting) those statues were not in accordance with his studies and not suitable for a library, the privileged place where he used to put the works of art purchased; even a statue of *Mars* was definitely an inappropriate subject for him, a staunch supporter of peace, which was his slogan during his consulate and the Civil War (Narducci, 1990).

Nothing could be further from Verres’ who, in a similar hypothetical situation, would have acquired without any doubt the *bacchantes* and any other works of art which Cicero did not. Gallus, indeed, did not offer Cicero strange works: the subjects related to the Dionysos’ world were common in the Roman villae during the late – Republican period (Grimal, 1984³: 319–327), as in the Villa of the Papyri (Saladino, 1988: 975; Narducci, 2003: 131; Mangiatordi, 2003: 241 and n. 107); and these subjects would have become even more frequent in the early Imperial Era, such as in the gardens of houses in Pompeii, where these kinds of works of art were preferred to those with a more cultured subject. They were also found in public places: the urban Asinii Pollionis Monumenta contained herms with heads of *mainades* and *silenoi*, as well as cupids which flanked, along with other subjects, the portraits of the great writers that ornamented the library (Narducci, 2003: 131. About the Asinii Pollionis Monumenta, see Becatti, 1956 and, Bounia, 2004: 188–190, with sources and bibliography and Gahtan & Pegazzano’s introductory chapter).

In addition to Tusculanum and to the at least nine other villae (even if the total amount is unknown, cf. Shatzman, 1975) and to the family home in Arpinum, Cicero was also the owner of several houses in Roma. The Roman houses included the family’s *domus*, purchased by his father (Ploutarkhos, *Cicero* 8,6) in Carinae and others in Argiletum and the Aventine (Cicero, *ad Atticum* xii.32,2). After living in the house in the Carinae until his consulate (63 BCE), Cicero was eager to purchase a more prestigious residence to give visibility to the status which he had acquired and to the *auctoritas* of which he benefitted (Narducci, 2003: 124; Mangiatordi, 2003: 217–219 and n. 21). In late 62 BCE he bought a house on the Palatine for three million and a half sesterces, a remarkable amount but a “special price” in relation to the size of the property (Carandini, 2010: 133). Located, on two floors (Cicero, *ad Atticum* xii.10; Cicero, *de domo sua* 116), in

the North West corner of the hill, in a *pulcherrimus locus* (Cicero, *de domo sua* 103), the house was bordered on the West and North sides by an *ambulatio*, a scenic, panoramic (Carandini, 2010: 92) walk. From the sources and from the archaeological data not much information emerged about the *domus* before his exile in 58 BCE. It is known, however, that since 59 BCE (Cicero, *ad Atticum* ii.4, the 7th April of that year) the residence contained a *palaestra* or garden intended to perform the functions of a *gymnasium* in the Greek sense – a place where both physical and intellectual activity were possible (Grimal, 1984³: 138 and notes 151, 152). These were features which he restored once he came back from exile (Cicero, *ad Quintum fratrem* iii.1,4: of September 54 BCE). Here stood the statue of Platon mentioned by Cicero (Cicero, *Brutus* 24). The dialogue most likely took place outside the residence (Narducci, 2003: 135 and 134 n. 44 with previous bibliography; Mangiatordi, 2003: 233), and faithfully describes certain details like this, for obvious symbolic value (Narducci, 1997: 104). Atticus, in his *domus* on the Quirinal, had an *imago* (perhaps a statue or a bust) of Aristoteles (Cicero, *ad Atticum* iv.10,1), while Brutus had one representing Demosthenes in his *villa* in Tusculum (Cicero, *de oratore* 110) (Narducci, 2003: 135).

Unfortunately the sources do not indicate the exact location where the statue of *Minerva*, qualified by Cicero as *custos urbis* (Cicero, *de domo sua* 144; Cicero, *ad Atticum* vii.3,2; Cicero, *ad familiares* xii.25,1; Cicero, *de legibus* ii.42), was placed in the *domus* (Sauron, 1994: 194; Kardos, 1997: 210–212). Probably it was placed in the *palaestra* (Carandini, 2010: 133) or in the *lararium* (according to Cicero himself: Cicero, *pro Planco* 73; Ploutarkhos, *Cicero* 31,6; Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhōmaikē historia*] xvii.5). This subject, as we have already seen in the *gymnasium* of his Tusculanum, particularly suited Cicero. Also, if this statue was placed in his urban *domus’ gymnasium*, the location would be similar to that of the *Hermathena* in Tusculanum with all the various meanings connected with it. If, however, the statue was in the *lararium*, the subject would also have had strong resonance for Cicero since it means that he would have placed it in the middle of his *sacrarium domesticum* with his household gods. But wherever the representation was placed in the *domus*, for our purposes the meaning of its presence does not change. Cicero carried the statue to the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, where he dedicated it to the city (Cicero, *ad familiares* xii.25,1; Iulius Obsequens, *prodigiorum liber* 68), probably on 19 March 58 BCE, the night before his departure for exile.

We do not know how the statue – of which are unknown the iconography, the material, the style and the origin – had come into his possession; either it had been

handed down from his ancestors, or it was the result of a recent purchase. According to Ploutarkhos (*Cicero* 31,6), it was in the house for a long time. The subject of the statue is important in itself. Cicero preferred the subject of Athena/Minerva to others not only as the goddess of *sapientia* which evokes the cultural capital of Greece, but also as the goddess of *metis*, of wisdom in action. He indicated during the suppression of the conspiracy of Catilina, that Athena/Minerva was for him “semper adiutrix consiliorum meorum, testis laborum” (*Cicero, de domo sua* 144) and the one who always inspired his political actions. These sentences gained for him (Narducci, 2003: 128 and n. 22) the pungent sarcasm of Clodius (*Cicero, de domo sua* 92; also Pseudo-Sallustius, *invektiva in Ciceronem* 7: “quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit”). Clodius accused Cicero (*Cicero, de domo sua* 92) of posing as a Iuppiter, because he used to refer to himself with epithets such as *urbis servator* or *patriae conservator*, traditionally attributed to the father of the gods, and he used to proclaim to have Minerva as a sister. The pair of Iuppiter-Minerva created by Clodius probably means something more, considering the propaganda that Cicero made (Narducci, 2009: 213) before his departure for his exile: the public dedication of the Athena statue (till that time placed in his private domestic space) in the main Roman temple, that of Iuppiter Capitolinus, which was also one of the few places where it was possible to have a Senate’s meeting. At that temple votive gifts of particular value and meaning such as the *candelabrum* studded with gems of Prince Antiokhos of Syria, which Verres had stolen during his passage in Sicily (*Cicero, in Verrem* ii.4,60–71), were typically offered. While Verres had plundered a large number of statues from several temples and a lot of works of art of public and sacred value, Cicero did the opposite, choosing to dedicate a statue, which was previously his private property, to the *res publica*. The act of public consecration and the place where it was consecrated were, in my opinion, direct evidence of how, in the Roman world, culture, art, religion, politics were inseparable and constituted different features of the same reality.

Verres’ and Cicero’s Collections: Differences and Analogies

It is important to remember that Cicero’s interest in collecting, like that of Verres, was not only for statues and paintings but also for other precious objects. Verres, for example, stole a table of cedar from Quintus Lutatius Diodorus of Lilybaion (*Cicero, in Verrem* ii.4,37). The value of the *mensa citrea, maxima* and *pulcherrima*, was

due to the carving or mouldings or, perhaps, to the inlay work (Paoletti, 2003: 1002). Many people were affected by *mensarum insaniae*, to use Plinius’ expression (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.91–95): among them Cicero himself (Bounia, 2004: 193; Mastroiosa, chapter 9). More than a century after his death there was still a *thuya*-table which belonged to Cicero (but, unfortunately, we do not know where it was) and which he had purchased (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.91–92), even in a personal precarious economic situation, for the exorbitant sum of 500,000 sesterces (also Tertullianus, *de pallio* v).

If the amount and the composition of the two respective collections, Verres’ and Cicero’s, were to be reconstructed and if a sort of inventory of these should be compiled, it would be partial and incomplete due to the extant sources, abundant for Verres though corrupted by Cicero’s bias, and meagre for Cicero who was the only source for himself with a few exceptions. Verres’ collection was very rich, as it was not the fruit of purchases but of plundering and embezzlement, carried out not only at the expense of cities and public places but also of private citizens. This collection contained several Greek originals with a massive prevalence of sculptures (representing various subjects) over paintings, plenty of silverware, precious fabrics, particular pieces collected for their artistic value, or for their antiquity, or for other elements worthy of note such as an unusual or particular shape for that type of object, or the fame of previous owners.

Cicero’s collection, on the other hand, was the fruit of focused purchases: he did not have famous works of art by ancient artists because his finances probably would not have permitted these purchases which, in any case, were not typical of him. He was most interested in the subject, both in relation to himself and his personality and in relation to its location and placement.

Cicero had mostly bought (or, rather, someone on his behalf) works of art with a subject suitable for a specific place. Verres used to give a new home to the works of art which came from different places, although all of them derived from Greek culture. It seemed that these new locations were not random but rather responded to a specific logic. From the little information on the arrangement given about the statues plundered during his *legatio Asiatica*, we know, for example, that the two sculptures once posed in front of the Fanum Iunonis in Samos received in his urban *domus* a location similar to the original one. He cleverly used this pair of statues to indicate his own *privata luxuria* while recalling what would normally be reserved for the *magnificentia publica*, in this way changing their original religious function and imposing on them – from Cicero’s point of view – an abso-

lute lack of *decor* and moderation. We can suppose that the few cases explicitly referred by Cicero must be significant and representative of Verres' behaviour.

Verres' and Cicero's collections are also connected by their dispersion. Antonius included Verres in the proscription lists just to steal his "Korinthian vases" (Bounia, 2004: 198, 288), which he refused to sell to him (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.6; see Lactantius, *institutiones divinae* ii.4,33–36). When Cicero was condemned to exile, in 58 BCE, he was deprived of all his possessions. Clodius caused the demolition, the looting and the ruin of Cicero's urban house, in which a fire was set (Cicero, *de domo sua* 62) with the *consules* Piso and Gabinius in attendance; they brought to their houses half of the burnt remains of Cicero's *domus* (Cicero, *de domo sua* 133). The first consul took possession of the goods of the urban house, the second of those from the villa in Tusculum (Cicero, *de domo sua* 62). Also all of Cicero's other properties were probably similarly confiscated and destroyed. Immediately after his return from exile an appraisal of all of the assets was established; but the estimate was disappointing for Cicero, because it was less than his expectations (Everitt, 2003: 173). As indicated in his correspondence with Gallus, years later he tried to rebuild what had been taken away from him.

At the end, Verres and Cicero personify two different trends in private collecting of the late Republican period. Verres, who aspired to the magnificence of the Hellenistic rulers (Narducci, 2003: 128–129) incarnates that luxurious and sumptuous collector who hungers for prestige and who possesses an uncontrollable passion for works of art. Hortensius, and parvenus like Chrysogonus, collected the same vein. In this kind of collecting, the aesthetic element is determinant. Such collectors had various aims, including political ones: Verres' works of art and precious objects were for him a way to garner the support of the ruling elite and to gain sympathy and support even outside his group of friends and family members. Probably Verres was an intermediary with members of the Roman ruling class eager to acquire works of art and luxury goods uncommon and unavailable through normal means and official channels. Cicero's approach was more intimate. He desired to surround himself with rare objects and precious things but mainly with an awareness of their moral and intellectual meaning. The purpose with which he built his collection was mostly illustrative and instructive: he wished to offer visitors a cultured evocation of the Greek world. *Decor* and restraint were his guides such that the ethical value of the collector is illustrated through his collection (Bounia, 2004: 199).

Collectables, Antiques and Sumptuary Trends in Ancient Roma: A Look around the Dining Halls of the Late Republic and Early Empire

Ida Gilda Mastrorosa

One of the most interesting elements in an examination of the significance of collecting in Ancient Roma is the tendency to appreciate objects of fine artistic quality (recent discussions in Bounia, 2004; Rutledge, 2012) and to turn them into status symbols. Their resulting economic worth was often further increased due to their ancient origins. In particular the ancient tradition offers useful examples to show how, beginning from the late Republican age, this phenomenon concerned objects linked to the sphere of banquets. These objects were increasingly valued and sought after by collectors from different social levels. Certain specific records are worth looking at in some detail in order to throw light on the relationship between collecting and the evolution of sumptuary behaviour in the period between the late Republic and the early Empire and to discover the supplementary social functions of certain items used when entertaining guests at dinner.

The case of citron tables is particularly interesting. We know that they were already a sought-after object on the collecting market during the early Imperial Era thanks to information provided about them by Plinius (*naturalis historia* xiii.91–98), a source more generally appreciated for information on cultural and artistic trends (Isager, 1991; Carey, 2003). From a passage of Book XIII it emerges that in the 1st century CE the type of wood known in Latin as *citrus*, which we can today identify as *thuya articulata*, a variety of *Coniferae Cupressacae* to be found in North Africa but also in Malta and on the Iberian Peninsula, had already been in use for a long time to construct highly-valued tables which appealed particularly to male taste (Mastrorosa, 2008).

According to Plinius, these tables had become a veritable passion which could be defined as *insania* and were highly sought-after objects on the antiquarian market in the Seventies of the 1st century CE. Some of them had been owned in the past by famous historical figures, a fact which further enhanced their value and made them change hands for extremely high prices.

Indeed, through the details given by Plinius (*naturalis historia* xiii.92), we can assume that, at the time he was

writing *naturalis historia*, a citron table which had once belonged to Cicero, and for which the latter had paid 500,000 sesterces was still in existence. (Despite Cicero's apparent interest in a highly-valued table, it is also worth remembering his attacks on opponents who devoted much of their nights to feasting, in his view evidence of their lack of moral control [Cicero, *de finibus* ii.23; see Stein-Holkeskamp, 2008]). Tables which had belonged to Asinius Gallus, a well-known figure from the Tiberian era (Mratschek-Halfmann, 1993: 282, n. 55), son of the famous art collector Asinius Pollio (Becatti, 1956; Gualandi, 1982: 277; Isager, 1991: 163–167; Bounia, 2004: 188–190), and to Juba II, King of Mauritania (25 BCE–23 CE; *PIR*² i.65; Mratschek-Halfmann, 1993: 278 n. 46; Schettino, 2002) also still existed, the first of which was worth one million sesterces and the second, 1,200,000 sesterces. An even more valuable piece, which had formed part of the wealth of the Cethegi and had been destroyed in a fire, had cost 1,300,000 sesterces, a sum that Plinius estimated as equivalent to the cost of a large estate and far too expensive to be a sound investment: “Interiit nuper incendio a Cethegis descendens, HS [XIII] permutata, latifundii taxatione, si quis praedia tanti mercari malit” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.92).

In addition to this indication of how the pieces were valued by the antiquarian market not only for their age but also for the knowledge that they had belonged to illustrious figures from the past, whose names seem to have been able to increase the values of such pieces considerably, Plinius also tells of having heard of other tables dating from the beginning of the 1st century CE which were remarkable for their size. In this light, he mentions a table four and a half feet in diameter which had belonged to Ptolemaios of Mauritania, the son of Juba II and king himself after his father's death (23–40 CE; Schettino, 2003: 296–312), counted among the richest people of his time (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lix.25.1; Mratschek-Halfmann, 1993: 289 n. 76). Moreover, Plinius (*naturalis historia* xiii.93) states that its huge size had been achieved by joining sections of different pieces of timber so skilfully as to make the seam invisible:

“maiusque miraculum in ea est artis latente iunctura quam potuisset esse naturae”.

Later in the same passage, he refers to another, only slightly smaller, table which was three-quarters of an inch less than four feet in diameter and had belonged to one of Tiberius' freed slaves. Tiberius himself had owned a less valuable example, which was only veneered with *thuya*, not made entirely of that precious wood (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.93–94).

Furthermore, thanks to some botanical details included in Plinius' dossier on these special *mensae*, we know that the citron wood obtained from the gnarled roots of the tree were held to be more valuable (because they were rarer) than that produced from the protuberances present on the upper part of the tree. Ironically – as he remarks – the highest value was attached to what was in fact a defect in the tree: “tuber hoc est radicis, maximeque laudatum quod sub terra totum fuerit, et rarius quam superne gignuntur etiam in ramis, proprieque quod tanti emitur arborum vitium est” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.95). This passage of the *naturalis historia* also helps us to understand something about the appearance of these tables; it seems that they had a marbled effect, with lines running either straight or rounded, which gave rise to different colours: ‘tiger’ for the first and ‘panther’ for the second: “Mensis praecipua dos in venam crispis vel in vertices parvos. Illud oblungo evenit discursu ideoque tigrinum appellatur, hoc intorto et ideo tales pantherinae vocantur” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xiii.96).

Besides Plinius' account of citron-tables, showing his encyclopaedic view of the typology of objects which were the focus of keen interest for collecting, therefore revealing the importance of his work as a source of information about collectables and collectors (Rouveret, 1987a; Carey, 2003: 75–101; Bounia, 2004), more information can be gleaned from works coming from a slightly earlier period but from a different type of literary context which also allows us to reflect upon the evolution of both Roman mentality and Roman tastes as well as on luxury (on Roman attitudes towards luxury objects, see Weeber, 2003; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 311–355; with special reference to Plinius on *luxuria*, see Citroni Marchetti, 1991: 229–242; Citroni Marchetti, 2003: 289–296).

In this light, a passage from Seneca (*de beneficiis* vii.9,2) is helpful as it proposes a severe censure of the tireless search for *mensae* made from a wood whose value is derived from a defect of the plant: “video istic mensas et aestimatum lignum senatorio censu, eo pretiosus, quo illud in plures nodos arboris infelicitas torsit”. Whereas Plinius had made a socio-economic comparison between

the value of citron wood and the cost of a large estate, Seneca chooses a senator's *census* as the element of comparison. What is particularly interesting here is that despite Seneca's condemnation of the tables from a moralistic point of view, he nonetheless himself seems to have fallen victim to the passion for collecting costly tables if the words of Dio Cassius are to be trusted (*historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lxi.10,3). Indeed, the historian not only rebuked Seneca for his accumulated wealth of three hundred million sesterces, but accused him of possessing five hundred identical cedar wood tables with ivory legs which he was accustomed to use during his banquets.

Dio Cassius' claims reveal the functional interest which lay behind Seneca's acquisition of a large number of tables of a particular kind and high cost. We are not told (though we may be tempted to hypothesize) if any of these were particularly valuable due to great age. Furthermore, they let us perceive how the practice of collecting highly valuable *mensae* went hand in hand in Ancient Roma with the chance of using, and thus showing off these pieces at one of the principal occasions for the exercise of sociability (D'Arms, 1999; Dunbabin, 2003; Zaccaria Ruggiu, 2003; Stein-Hölkeskamp, 2005; Dunbabin & Slater, 2011; Schnurbusch, 2011; Vössing, 2012) and for elite competition (Badel, 2013) that is, at banquets. In fact, this trend is also documented by Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4,37; Baldo, 2004: 311–312; Paoletti, 2003: 1002; Lazzeretti, 2006: 159–160), by Petronius (*satyrice* 119,27–32), and Martialis (xiv.3; xiv.89; xiv.90).

Banquets were the prime place not only to demonstrate elegance and taste in food and drink, but also to show off objects from the host's collections belonging to the sphere of dining. Silver tableware was of particular social and economic significance (Pucci, 1984: 577–79) and we have notice of some examples of luxurious dining rooms arranged to receive members of a certain social rank (see Nappo, 2008) as well as examples of precious objects destined for use at banquets, such as drinking cups, etc. (see Micheli, 1991; Giroire & Roger, 2007: nn. 109–114, 173–175) and luxury furniture belonging to the *triclinia* (see Hölkeskamp, 2004: 131–141). In this context, it is important also to examine the role played in this period by collecting fine silver tableware and table ornaments, murrhine vases and porcelain to be shown off in wealthy homes as a means of increasing the purchaser's prestige and status.

Two particularly significant objects of this kind were the two chased silver goblets produced by the well-known (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,38) master craftsman Mentor, thus dating back to the first half of the 4th century BCE, the prized possessions of the orator Lucius Crassus, who

according to Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiii.147) had purchased them for the far from modest price of 100,000 sesterces. These cups were so valuable that their owner was proud to admit that he had never dared use them. Their value doubtless lay in the fact that they were part of the very small number of pieces made by a master craftsman, who, according to another passage by Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiii.154), had created only four pairs of vases which had been lost during two fires, one at the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos in 356 BCE and the other in 83 BCE at the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, home to many collections of artefacts (Bounia, 2004: 183–184). However, in order to understand fully the importance of the reference to Lucius Crassus, we must bear in mind another statement by Plinius, to be found in a place which reveals, according to the annalist Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi (Peter, 1883: *frgm.* 34; Livius xxxix.6,7; Zecchini, 1982: 177–178; Berti, 1989: 45–46), that the earliest appearance of bronze dining couches, bronze tables and one-legged small tables was at the Triumph of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, which was celebrated following the conquest of Asia in 187 BCE (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.14). In particular, later in the same passage, Plinius states that according to Valerius Antias, Lucius Crassus, who, as is known, was chosen by Cicero as protagonist in one of his major rhetorical dialogues, owned a large number of bronze couches which were sold by his heirs following his death in 91 BCE.

The new way of considering *coenae* as lengthy eating occasions made more comfortable and agreeable with the introduction of valuable couches and tables encouraged the taste for silver tableware which, according to Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiii.148), was initially sparked by the Triumph of Lucius Cornelius Scipio following his victory over Antiokhos III at Magnesia in 189 BCE; this was particularly notable for bringing into the city 1,400 pounds of chased silver and 1,500 pounds of golden table vessels. The taste spread further following the death of Attalos III of Pergamon in 133 BCE when many pieces of his treasure arrived on the market and prompted a growth in the passion for such objects with attempts to acquire as many as possible of them on the part of collectors. The desire to own fine silver table articles to show off at meals continued to grow in the Republican Age. A wave of emulative behaviour then developed which demonstrates how certain objects became invested with a new meaning beyond their ostensible, functional one and they were now considered as status symbols, proof of the high socio-economic position of their owners.

In this respect, an anecdote reported in another passage by Plinius is particularly revealing since it seems to

show that in some circles, for occasions of particular prestige, wealthy Romans were prepared even to lend each other whole services of tableware and table ornaments. The passage recounts how the Carthaginian ambassadors, who had come to Roma for some unspecified mission, had noted the presence on the tables of the various influential families who invited them to dine using the very same tableware. They had therefore deduced, perhaps ironically, that the people of Roma lived in great friendship: “Invenimus legatos Carthaginiensium dixisse nullos hominum inter sese benignius vivere quam Romanos. Eodem enim argento apud omnes cenitavisse ipsos” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.142).

Leaving aside the question of whether or not this conclusion was accurate, it does reveal how services of silver tableware collected by wealthy owners had become metonymical for social status such that hosts anxious to create a good impression on important foreign dignitaries were prompted both to ask and to borrow, and in turn to agree to lend, these objects.

The emulative effect involved in this behaviour of the upper ranks was apparent to Cicero who criticised the negative effect of the tastes and *magnificentia* of the *optimates* on the lower social levels. In this vein, he notes how Lucullus, when rebuked for his excesses, replied that given the ostentation of his neighbours, a Roman *eques* and a *libertus*, both owners of magnificent villas, he did not feel it right that he should deny himself what was permissible to individuals belonging to lower social ranks (Cicero, *de legibus* iii.30; Narducci, 1984: 113).

Apart from Lucullus' exploits in this area, his taste for excessive indulgence in the field of eating and drinking is well-documented in many sources (Varro, *rerum rusticarum* iii.2,17; Velleius, *historiae Romanae* ii.33,4; Ploutarkhos, *Lucullus* 39,1; 40,1; Ploutarkhos, *Lucullus & Kimon* 1,5–6; Ploutarkhos, *Pompeius* 2,12; Ploutarkhos, *Cato minor* 19,8; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* iii.15,6). The constant interest in owning and especially showing off fine silver tableware is further evidenced in Plinius who also notes how this taste evolved and drew new impetus from the discovery of new master silversmiths whose work it then became essential to own in at least one example. This also seems to be what Plinius is suggesting when he points out the mutability of human taste, noting that the work of certain silversmiths had become so sought-after on the market that owning silver tableware produced at one moment by Furnius, or by Clodius or by Gratius, had become a undeniable mark of distinction: “vasa ex argento mire inconstantia humani ingenii variat nulum genus officinae diu probando. Nunc furniana, nunc

clodiana, nunc gratiana – etenim tabernas mensis adoptamus – nunc anaglypta asperitatemque exciso circa linearum picturas quaerimus, iam vero et mensas repositoriis inponimus ad sustinenda opsonia” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.139–140).

In addition to the cases considered above which document in terms of weight the large amounts of worked silver owned by notable figures of political and public life in late Republican and early imperial Roma, in the 1st century CE the passion for collecting fine silver tableware was increasing at various levels of society. In this vein, it is also worth looking at two episodes reported from the final phase of the Iulio-Claudian Principate and from the brief era of Vitellius.

The first of them is found in a brief mention by Plinius of one of Claudius’ freed slaves, named Drusillanus and nicknamed Rotundus who was sent to administer Hispania Citerior. Plinius notes ironically that he was the owner of a silver plate weighing 500 pounds (approx. 162 kg), the construction of which had required the building of a special workshop; he also possessed eight other pieces of silver tableware weighing 250 pounds (around 80 kg): “quingenariam lancem habuit, cui fabricandae officina prius exaedificata fuerat, et comites eius octo ad CCL libras, quaeso, ut quam multi eas conservi eius inferrent, aut quibus cenantibus?” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.145). Indeed, according to the evaluation offered by the author, all of these were objects of collection and display inappropriate to the servile origin of their owner, since it was impossible that he would ever have the chance of entertaining guests of high enough rank to merit such valuable tableware.

In the same way, a passage from Petronius reveals how collecting high-value silver tableware attracted those who were interested in using it to display their rise in status and as proof of their new social rank (Dumont, 1990: 272–273). He describes Trimalchio as an enthusiastic collector of Korinthian vases, a much appreciated artistic product (Emanuele, 1989), whose education was sufficient to let him to say that he was the only owner of true Korinthian ware because the smith he had bought it from was named Corinthus! (Petronius, *satyrice* 50,4). Trimalchio also declares his passion for silver tableware and ornaments and admits his pride in possessing almost one hundred silver cups the size of wine jars, describing the decoration of one representing Kassandra killing her children, in highly realistic detail (Petronius, *satyrice* 52,1). He also recounts how he has inherited from his master a drinking cup which he in turn had received from Mummius, which shows Daidalos shutting Niobe in the Trojan horse,

and also other cups decorated with the combats between Hermeros and Petraites. Trimalchio therefore possessed a collection of pieces of both high artistic quality and high-value, revealing the connoisseurship of their owner and which – according to his own words – he would not have sold for all the money in the world: “omnia ponderosa; meum enim intelligere nulla pecunia vendo” (Petronius, *satyrice* 52,2–3).

As regards Vitellius, in addition to other sources (Iosepos, *historia Ioudaikou polemou pros Romaious* iv.651; Suetonius, *Vitellius* 13; *scriptores historiae Augustae*, *Elagabalus* 18.4; Eutropius, *breviarium historiae Romanae* vii.18,2–3; Orosius, *historiae adversus paganos* vii.8,7; Barzanò, 1991: 240–241; Vössing, 2004: 464–465), Dio Cassius (*historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lxxv.3,1–2) states that his reign was a continuous succession of excessive drinking and feasting with food and drink coming from all parts of the empire to an overall cost of 900,000 million sesterces for his dining. More particularly, according to the same historian, he ordered the manufacture of a silver amphora big enough to contain a fish soup costing one million sesterces, which then became a piece for collection and display. It was eventually preserved as a votive offering and survived until the time of Hadrianus, who ordered it to be melted down (Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] lxxv.3,3). Further confirmation of antique silver pieces being used for entertaining can be found in a letter of Plinius the Younger in which Titus Vestricius Spurinna, one of Vitellius’ generals in the year 69 in the campaign against Otho and later consul (*PIR* III, 409–410, n. 308), is mentioned as using tableware *in argenteo puro et antiquo* as well as bronze from Korinthos when he dined (Plinius, *epistulae* iii.1).

Another luxury item from the sphere of entertaining guests at meals and for which the Romans developed a veritable passion were murrhine vases. This material still remains somewhat mysterious, although various hypotheses have been advanced as to what it actually was (Tressaud & Vickers, 2007). The most probable hypothesis is that it was banded fluorite. According to Plinius murrhine came from the East, especially from the Parthian Empire, while the finest specimens came from Carmania (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.21). Moreover, he states that murrhine vases made their first appearance in Roma on the occasion of Pompeius Magnus’ third Triumph, held to celebrate his victory over the pirates, Asia, Pontos and other peoples in 61 BCE. Many unusual valuable objects were exhibited at this event (Beard, 2007: 9–14), including, according to the *acta triumphorum* consulted by Plinius, a chess board made from precious materials four and a half

feet in length, decorated with a golden moon weighing 30 pounds, but also banqueting couches, gold tableware and precious stones, pearls and vases made of murrhine, which were given as votive offerings in the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.18). Furthermore, murrhine objects were also appreciated by the Emperor Augustus who according to Suetonius carried off a murrhine goblet from Alexandria (Suetonius, *Augustus* 71).

Gradually the rich and powerful members of Roman society became inflamed with the desire to possess murrhine objects for which they paid exorbitant sums. An ex-consul mentioned by Plinius in another passage (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.18–20; Bounia, 2004: 197–198) had purchased a murrhine goblet, of the capacity of three *sextarii*, or 1.6 litres, for the price of 70,000 sesterces; he drank from this so often that he wore down the rim, thus making it a rarity and even more valuable. Indeed, it had become the most expensive article of its kind in circulation during Plinius' time: "Neque est hodie myrrhini alterius praestantior indicatura" (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.19). Moreover, from the same passage, we learn about the vast amount of money which the ex-consul had squandered on the purchase of objects of this kind and that once they had been passed down to his sons, they ended up in Nero's hands.

The Emperor decided to put the ex-consul's cups on display in the private theatre in his garden on the other side of the Tiberis. This was a place which he used both to practice his singing performances before a private audience before making public performance in the Theatre of Pompeius Magnus, and as a display area. Plinius states that he himself had seen exhibited there the broken pieces of a cup which had been placed in a funerary urn, conserved – he says – as though they were the remains of the body of Alexandros the Great, almost as a memento of the inevitability of Fortune's caprices: "Vidi tunc adnumerari unius scyphi fracti membra, quae in dolorem, credo, saeculi invidiamque Fortunae tamquam Alexandri Magni corpus in conditorio servari, ut ostentarentur, placebat" (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.19).

Plinius' account seems intended to accentuate the decadent taste underlying such a display and shows the different forms which collecting could assume under the Principate of an eccentric and extravagant prince such as Nero whose passion for murrhine objects led him not only to purchase them for huge sums, but also to confiscate them from others. A little further on (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.20), the passage reports that he paid 1,000,000 sesterces for the purchase of a murrhine drinking cup,

but also seized the examples which had belonged to the ex-consul mentioned above, obviously an extremely wealthy man, including the piece which had assumed added value through the signs of wear at the mouth of its former owner.

As well as the passion for collecting the goblets and murrhine vases already mentioned, crystal table objects seem to have been able to fire enthusiasm equal to that of silver and murrhine from what is shown by the case of a matron who spent 150,000 sesterces on the purchase of a crystal ladle (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.29).

It seems that crystal tableware too was considered even more highly as an object for collection if it had previously belonged to illustrious figures. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Plinius records how Nero, enraged at receiving bad news, hurled two crystal goblets to the floor and smashed them, in order to prevent anyone else from owning or using them after him: "Haec fuit ultio saeculum suum punientis, ne quis alius iis biberet" (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvii.29). The episode is confirmed by Suetonius in a passage which also provides some information on the appearance and artistic value of the goblets, which were apparently particularly fine, with episodes from the Homeric epics painted on them (*Nero* 47.1).

At the end of the 1st century CE, three pieces composed by Statius and Martialis that offer ekphrastic praise of a statue of *Herakles epitrapezios*, that is *Herakles at the table*, attributed to Lysippos (Latini, 1995; Dareggi, 2006; Bonadeo, 2010: 24–42; Rutledge, 2012: 65), give us further evidence of the exploitation of the sphere of eating and drinking for showing off the luxury objects collected by hosts who could thereby demonstrate their high social status. The first of them, offered by Statius as a gift in return for an invitation to dinner from a friend Novius Vindex, a patron of literature and art and owner of the statue (Statius, *silvae* iv.6; Bonadeo, 2010), tells us that the statue represented Herakles sitting on a rock covered by the pelt of the Nemean lion and holding the intoxicating cup of his brother Dionysos in one hand and his club in the other. The statue was remarkable for the intensity of the joyful expression on Herakles' face, which, in Statius' view, seemed to encourage the guests at the banquet to enjoy themselves: "Nec torva effigies epulisque aliena remissis / ... sic mitis vultus, veluti de pectore gaudens / hortatur mensas" (Statius, *silvae* iv.6, 50–56).

From the first piece of Martialis (*epigrammata* ix.43), we learn that, according to the poet, the bronze statue once graced Alexandros the Great's table before passing into the hands of Hannibal, then to Sulla and then came to end its days in the gracious home of the learned Vindex.

Even more interestingly, the close of the second epigram mentions that the name of the craftsman was to be seen on the base of the statue, almost like a label: "Alciden modo Vindicis rogabam / esset cuius opus laborque felix. / Risit, nam solet hoc, levique nutu / 'Graece numquid' ait 'poeta nescis? / inscripta est basis indicatque nomen.' Lusippou lego, Phidiae putavi" (Martialis, *epigrammata* ix.44). While certainly this is no absolute proof of the authenticity of the piece, of which as is known many copies were made, it nonetheless suggests that its owner was probably in possession of a well-made piece which was a copy of the original.

Apart from the material from which they were constructed – silver, murrhine, crystal – the above accounts of the circulation of these luxury articles for the table, avidly sought after and collected either as single pieces or in sets, reveal that such objects were understood as a means of communication of the owner's belonging to a certain social and economic milieu. The background context for this was a historical cultural framework which increasingly tended to attribute a functional and public value to the private *domus* while maintaining awareness of the meaning of the processes behind (see Wiseman, 1987; Wallace-Hadrill, 1988; Edwards, 1993: 150–160; Zaccaria Ruggiu, 1995: 319–326; Nevett, 1997; Hölkeskamp, 2004, and most recently Carandini, 2010).

This functional value seems to be borne out by some of Cicero's observations which show how he considered private residences to be the mirror of the social identity of their owner (Cicero, *de officiis* i.139; Woods, 1988: 105–119), as does the same author's recognition of the public-social significance of entertaining in a further context (Cicero, *Cato maior* 45–46). Certain indications in Vitruvius (*de architectura* vi.5,2–3 on which Coarelli, 1989: 178; Romano, 1994: 71–73) also seem to accord with this view, as he was convinced that important people's homes should include comfortable yet elegant areas suitable for allowing the owners to exercise their public role and the expectations it entailed even at home, as part of his concept of different types of buildings for different social levels.

Nevertheless, from a social-historical viewpoint, it should also be noted that the circulation of these luxury objects connected with dining is proof of the inadequacy of the measures adopted in Roma to limit luxury in dining from the mid-Republican period onwards. The attempt was already begun in the 3rd century BCE as may be seen from the decision to expel Publius Cornelius Rufinus from the Senate in 275 BCE with the accusation of owning an excessive quantity of silver vases for banquets, therefore offering a bad example of passion for luxury (Valerius

Maximus, *factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri ix* ii.9,4; Livius, *periochae* xiv; Dionysios Alexandrou of Halikarnassos, *Rhomaïke arkhaiologia* xx.13; Ploutarkhos, *Sulla* 1; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiii.142; Gellius, *noctes atticae* iv.8,7, xvii.21,39).

The attempt continued through numerous *leges* denominated *cibariae*, such as the *Lex Orchia* which was passed in 182 BCE in order to limit the number of guests allowed at banquets, or the *Lex Fannia* of 161 BCE which fixed maximum expenditure limits for the organizers, or the *Lex Didia* of 143 BCE, which was intended to extend these restrictions to the *Italici*, who had not been included in the previous legislation, and also to set fines for hosts and banquet organizers who did not respect the limitations. In 131 BCE the *Lex Licinia* was passed to reinforce the earlier laws which it seemed had lost their effectiveness. The *Lex Aemilia* was passed in 115 BCE to prohibit the use of force-fed or stuffed dormice, mussels and wild birds. Later, the *Lex Cornelia*, instigated by Sulla in 81 BCE, did not prohibit banquets, but placed an expense-limit on them. The *Lex Antia* of 71 BCE was almost never applied and was followed by similar attempts at legislation in the Augustan age (Suetonius, *Augustus* 34.1; Gellius, *noctes Atticae* ii.24,14; Dio Cassius, *historia Romana* [*Rhomaïke historia*] liv.2,3) and also under Tiberius, as we can learn from Tacitus (*annales* ii.33; iii.52,1–2; Mastroianni, 2007). While sumptuary laws have been extensively studied in terms of their (legal) purposes and historical meaning, and their aims connected to the political dynamics, attitudes and behaviour of the nobility (Clemente, 1981; Gabba, 1988: 38–41; Coudry, 1998; Bottiglieri, 2002; Dauster, 2003; Coudry, 2004; Arena, 2011; Zanda, 2011: 49–72; Coudry, 2012), and from an economic viewpoint (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012), their relationship to the social and cultural behavior of collecting and exhibiting luxury table items invites further study.

Beyond these repeated attempts to regiment the excesses of banqueting, including also restrictive indications of the maximum weight allowed for pieces of silver tableware, or on the use of gold dishes, such as the restrictions stated in a debate in the Senate in 16 AD (Tacitus, *annales* ii.33,1; Pani, 1992: 88–90), the accounts from Plinius and from the other sources mentioned above reveal how the *luxus mensae*, later noted by Tacitus as having increased even more following Aktion (Actium) (Tacitus, *annales* iii.55,1–2), was also characterized by the avid search for and acquisition of luxury objects connected to the sphere of entertaining and dining.

The importance of this aspect resurfaces later in modern era debates on luxury: in 1699, for example,

Giambattista Vico wrote a short work entitled *Cene sontuose dei Romani*, evidently seeing sumptuous dining as an important identifying trait of ancient Romans.

In conclusion, the cases analysed above show how in the period between the end of the Republic and the 1st century of the Empire the taste for collecting and collectables was influenced not merely by the desire to possess beautiful objects of high artistic quality but also by the pleasure to be had in showing them off at banquets, the

ideal place for demonstrating the social-economic status of their owners. The examples clearly demonstrate how in this period collecting is not only a useful means for investigating the circulation on the market of beautiful objects made of precious materials, but also serves as a mirror to reflect the evolution of Roman sumptuary tendencies and is thus particularly important from the social-historical point of view.

Private Art Galleries in Roma: Literary and Archaeological Evidence

Francesca Ghedini and Giulia Salvo*

This essay was inspired by one of Vitruvius' famous passages illustrating the characteristics of the dwellings of the "nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima [...] praeterea bibliothecas pinacothecas basilicas" (*de architectura* vi.5,2). In the sequence of these rooms, we are chiefly interested in the reference to "picture galleries". The affirmation of the importance of private picture galleries in the homes of "notables" can serve as the starting point for considerations closely linked with the idea of paintings collected by individuals.

The first collection of paintings testified by the sources (particularly Pausanias i.22,6–7) was set up in the large room located to the left when entering the Propylaia on the Athenian Akropolis: housed inside were works pertaining to the different phases of Greek production, some of which, like those of Polygnotos, were earlier than the actual construction of the building (Beschi & Musti, 1982: 341–343; Rouveret, 2007: 347). That the large room can rightly be defined a "public picture gallery" is unquestionable, but determining when the collection was formed is more problematic, i.e. if the works were set up when the room was built, as seems to be suggested by the two paintings of Alkibiades (possibly the work of Aglaophon, a painter active in Athenai in the second half of the 5th century BCE), or later, according to prevalent opinion. If the latter is the case, this would mean that those who set it up specifically wanted to create the public display of a selection of very valuable works from different eras, a collection gradually enriched over the years. In both cases, in the paintings mentioned by Pausanias it is impossible to glean any kind of programme that might explain the reasons for this selection, and the only common thread that seems to emerge is the artistic value of the works. We have even less accurate information regarding another public picture gallery, the one that, as Strabon informs us (xiv.1,14), was located in the Heraion of Samos. The museum function of the temple and the surrounding *sacella*, which contained *pinakes* and works of art of all

kinds, is emphasized by the geographer's statement that colossal statues, some of which by Myron, were exhibited in the uncovered area. Equally generic is the reference to a collection of *pinakes* in the Heraion at Ephesos (Pausanias x.38,6).

In fact, we know that precious artefacts were displayed in sacred places. For example, the Heraion at Olympia contained an extensive collection of works spanning a long time frame ranging from the Archaic period to Hellenism (Pausanias v.17,1). The Asklepieion on Kos must have been a sort of museum, as emerges from the dialogue that took place between two worshippers who listed the exhibited sculptures (Herondas iv.20–81); the sculpted works that must have been situated in the *pronaos* (vv. 20–39) are followed by a detailed illustration of a painting by Apelles, probably located in the *naos* (vv. 56–78), depicting a scene of veneration rendered so truthfully that the flesh of the young servant, the silver tongs used for the ceremony and the sacrificial ox seem real (the exaltation of realism was part of the Greek aesthetic and rhetorical tradition, Gualandi, 2001: 11–16). The placement of Greek masterpieces inside temples and sanctuaries not only underscored awareness of the value of the exhibited works, but also expressed the desire to allow them to be enjoyed by the public.

Private Collecting: The Evidence

Starting with Hellenism, we find a far different spirit inspiring private collectors, whose purchase of the masterpieces of painting, sculpture, glyptic and toreutic express a desire for ownership alongside the wish to arouse admiration and envy. With regard to painting collections, one of the first about which we have testimony seems to be that of Ptolemaios II, known to us thanks to the description of the extraordinary tent set up in Alexandria in the *akra*, the palace district, to celebrate the festivities for the deification of Ptolemaios I and Berenice I (Calandra, 2011; Calandra, 2012). The fashion of collecting works by the great artists of the past as well as contemporary masters became widespread among the Hellenistic kings: the sovereigns of Pergamon were among the leading representatives, transforming their *akropolis* into an

* The text was translated from Italian to English by Catherine Bolton, whom we would like to thank.

extraordinary museum that also contained paintings. Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.60) tells us that a famous painting by Apollodoros, a painter active in Athenai at the Classical period, ended up in Pergamon: the work depicted Aias burned by lightning. Likewise Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.100) also informs us that Attalos, probably II, paid the considerable sum of 100 talents for a painting by Aristeides. It seems that, for his collection, Attalos also wanted the *Dionysos and Ariadne* by the same painter, which Lucius Mummius had put up for auction. However, the victor of Korinthus was so surprised by the astonishing offer of 600,000 *denarii* for this work that he got suspicious and became convinced that the work represented “aliquid [...] virtutis, quod ipse nesciret” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.24). Consequently, he took it off the market to offer it to his city, putting it in the Temple of Ceres.

From then on, the number of great Greek painting masterpieces imported to Roma grew and, in keeping with the principle of sharing the fruits of military conquests with the entire populace, they were displayed in public places (Celani, 1998). This custom had already become established with the *tabulae triumphales*, which celebrated the key moments of the wars of conquest (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.22–23: “tabulis autem externis auctoritatem Romae publice fecit primus omnium L. Mummius”; see Gualandi, 2001: 81–84, 408–413; Tortorella, 2010). Paintings by the most renowned Greek and Hellenistic artists could thus be admired by anyone visiting fora, temples and *porticus*. For example, the Temple of Venus Genetrix housed an “Aias” and a “Medea” by Timomakhos; paintings by Apelles were set in *celeberrimo loco* at the Forum of Augustus; the works of Timanthes, Aristeides and Nikomakhos were exhibited in the Forum Pacis, while those of Zeuxis, Antiphilos and Theoros were housed in the Porticus Philippi (for a list of the paintings by Greek artists that could be seen in Roma, Gualandi, 1982: 290–298; for Greek work in Roma: Celani, 1998). Nevertheless, it must be noted that we cannot define as “picture galleries” the spaces in which these collections could be admired by citizens, given that alongside *tabulae* and *tabellae* there were also other works of art, above all statues, in a sort of proud exaltation of Roma’s greatness (fundamental works on collecting art in Roma, Gualandi, 1982; Prioux, 2008: 11, 15; Rouveret, 2007; Rutledge, 2012). An examination of the list of works found in the city’s most important public buildings allows us to surmise that the sequences and associations did not reflect any set criteria in terms of chronology (from classicism to Hellenism), theme (coherent subjects pertaining to epic, mythical or theatrical tra-

dition) or art history (i.e. style and composition), but were instead formed almost randomly, based on conquests or purchases on the art market. For example, we know that in 58 BCE Scaurus bought all the paintings that had been part of the public assets of Sikyon, which had been put up for auction to pay off the city’s debts (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.127). The paintings were then brought to Roma, and although it is impossible to reconstruct where they ended up, there is no question that this massive entry on the art market was not devoid of some effect. Nonetheless, we can note a predilection for certain “schools” or artists, generally Late Classical or Hellenistic. One of the favourite painters seems to have been Antiphilos, present in Roma with no less than six paintings, followed by Apelles, for whom Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.27, xxxv.83–94) mentions five works, while Praxiteles was unquestionably one of the most widely documented sculptors (in general, Gualandi, 1982: Appendix A). The massive presence at public places of works by the most renowned Greek painters stimulated private collecting, a trend that seems to have arisen as early as the beginning of the 1st century BCE, going hand in hand with the spread of a love of luxury so vehemently opposed by moralists. Lucullus may have been one of the first to display the *tabulae* of the great painters of the past at his villas (Varro, *rerum rusticarum* i.2,10: “non, ut apud Lucullum, ut videant pinacothecas”), and he was swiftly imitated by wealthy aristocrats and city notables, who spent fortunes to ensure they would procure the most famous works. The orator Hortensius spent the considerable sum of 144,000 *sestertii* for a painting by one Kydias, active around the middle of the 4th century BCE, depicting the *Argonautai*, and to display it he even had a small temple (*aedes*) built on his estate at Tusculum (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.130). And in his letter to Fabius Gallus, Cicero (*ad familiares* vii.23,3), a renowned art connoisseur and passionate collector of Greek works, recalled that “exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani; ea volebam tabellis ornare”.

This fashion must have continued and become increasingly widespread, given that Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.4) denounced the custom of flaunting luxury by filling picture galleries with old panels: “pinacothecas veteribus tabulis consuunt”. The spread of this custom, which consequently meant that many works could no longer be viewed by the public, enraged the populace and made moralists indignant, ultimately inspiring Cato to compose a discourse entitled *uti praeda in publicum referatur* (Prioux, 2008: 10). This sentiment was interpreted by Agrippa who, in a famous speech, strongly expressed his opinion that the masterpieces purchased by private

individuals should be returned to the citizenry (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.26: “oratio magna et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli”). We must also view that Agrippa moves in light of the idea of public re-appropriation of the fruits of Roman conquests given that, following the orientation of Augustus’ rather demagogic policies, he had small paintings (*tabellae*) – recently restored – hung on the walls of the baths he built in the Campus Martius (Gualandi, 1982: 277; Rouveret, 2007: 345, 348). Nevertheless, we know too little about the Roman general’s operation to understand if the *tabellae* displayed at the baths came from conquests or if they were by contemporary painters. Likewise, we do not know if the choice of subjects was dictated by conscious project, based on specific criteria, or if – as seems more likely – it was entirely random.

Instead, we can glean more information from the description of the picture gallery – probably public and in an unspecified city in Campania – that Encolpius visited during his wanderings (Petronius, *satyrica* 83: “in pinacothecam perveni vario genere tabularum mirabilem”). Encolpius had the chance to admire the works of Zeuxis, “nondum vetustatis iniuria victas”, and the famous “sketches” (*rudimenta*) of Protogenes (*naturae veritate certantia*), but also Apelles’ *monocnemata*, or portrayals of boys who, because of their pose with a bent knee, look like they have just one leg (for a different opinion, see Baier, 2010: 195–196). Based on this list, we may be able to grasp some of the criteria underlying the choice of which works to display. In fact, on the one hand the collection seems to favour paintings from the height of Classicism (e.g., the late 5th century, represented by the works of Zeuxis and Protogenes, or the late fourth, of which Apelles was one of the best-known representatives), but at the same time we can suggest that the associations or sequences were oriented by the subjects themselves (boys) or the way the works were composed (centred around a single figure) or even the iconography (figures with a knee on the ground). Therefore, if a leitmotif can be gleaned – albeit cautiously – in the picture gallery Encolpius visited, then we can rightly theorize that, in the case of private collections, the patron’s own tastes counted. There may also have been collections favouring a given historical period or even a specific painter, forming a sort of “anthological exhibition” *ante litteram*, or preferring how a work was made (on the composition of the paintings, see Ghedini, 2000). Vague clues along these lines can be found in the aforesaid gallery of Ptolemaios II (Athenaios, *deipnosophistai* v.196A–197C), in which the choice of works to display seems to have been inspired by two different criteria:

one art-historical, with an immense number of paintings from the school of Sikyon, and one thematic, illustrated by the series of *tabulae* with portraits. The sovereign thus seems to have heralded a fashion that would become very popular in Roman milieus. In fact, when discussing the success of the painters Sopolis and Dionysios who specialised in depicting real people, Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.148) seems to suggest the existence of veritable portrait “galleries”. Instead, we find different considerations in several of Varro’s passages, mentioning not only collections inspired by the desire to illustrate the personality of a painter or sculptor (*rerum rusticarum* iii.2,5: paintings by Antiphilos and sculptures by Lysippos; Corso, Mugellesi & Rosati, 1988: 935), but also “themed” collections, in which the “theme” was related to the room in which they were displayed (Varro, *rerum rusticarum* i.59,2: still-lives in *triclinia*).

Archaeological Evidence

The few indications we find in the literary sources do not go beyond the level of suggestion and are entirely inadequate not only to understand if there were selection criteria vis-à-vis the works to be displayed, but particularly for defining how the paintings were positioned in these hypothetical “picture galleries”. In reality, the scenario must have been quite varied, also because it was closely connected with the patron’s tastes. Therefore, it is evident that if we wish to attempt to understand how they may have been presented and the principles underlying exhibition choices, we must examine the fresco cycles that have come down to us in the capital and, to an even greater extent, in the Vesuvian area. The aim is to verify if the depicted compositions reproduced in the form of large and small panels can be interpreted not only as a choice made by the patron to convey a given message, but if they can even be considered “low-cost” reproductions of great easel paintings (in favour of this theory, see Schefold, 1952: 32–34; Corso, Mugellesi & Rosati, 1988: 936; Rouveret, 2007; Dubois-Pelerin, 2008: 133; Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 34).

The existence of movable paintings hanging on the walls of private homes is confirmed by both direct and indirect archaeological evidence. To the first type pertain the painted marble panels found in Herculaneum and Pompeii (Graeve, 1984). Marble *pinakes*, like the wall-mounted *emblemata*, were inserted in niches in the masonry, of which we have several fascinating examples in the Vesuvian area (Dubois-Pelerin, 2008: 133). Indirect evidence is far more extensive and can be found by

analysing the frescoed walls of Roma and Pompeii, where we can observe not only small paintings with panels to close them, imitating real ones, but also larger paintings with variously carved frames. The mid-1st century BCE saw the rise of the fashion of painting small rectangular paintings with wooden doors in the space between the middle of the wall and the ceiling. One of the best-known and legible examples is the large *oecus* in the House of the Cryptoporticus (I 6,2; in *PPM* I: 254–273), in which we can recognize a series of *pinakes* with various subjects. Alongside still lifes (on this, see Rouveret, 2007: 345; De Caro, 2009) we also find more complex depictions, which from an iconographic and compositional standpoint seem to echo Late Classical creations. Therefore, we could cautiously theorize that, for his imaginary picture gallery, the patron selected images based on subject (still-lives) and style (Late Classical painting). Perhaps the presence of *pinakes* on the upper part of the walls of the *oecus* in lieu of the continuous narrative adorning the nearby *cryptoporticus* can be linked with the different functions of the two rooms – the former static and the latter dynamic – and thus in accordance with the dictates pinpointed by Scagliarini Corlàita (1974–76).

The fashion of small paintings with doors, well documented in several imperial complexes in Roma (the back wall in the lower *cubiculum* of the House of Augustus, Iacopi, 2007: 65, 76; the *tablinum* in the House of Livia, Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 30–32; rooms B and E in the Villa della Farnesina, Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 128–187, 284–336), endured for quite some time, as illustrated by the numerous examples of the Third and Fourth Styles (Great Hall of the Villa Imperiale, Moormann, 1998: 23; *oecus* 3 of the House of Obellius Firmus, IX 14; in *PPM* x: 410). In this regard, the decoration of the *peristylum* of the House of the Vestals in Pompeii (VI 1,7) is especially interesting, as the *pinakes* present intriguing variations of the faux doors (*PPM* IV: 27–29) [fig. 10.1]. With regard to the portrayed subjects, there is instead great consistency, given that we always find animal and plant still-lives, which in most cases can be interpreted as alluding to the banquets probably held in the adjacent *triclinium*. The predilection for decorating with *tabellae*, including small ones, is underscored by the portrayal of small *pinakes* set against faux columns, where we can see portraits, in which perhaps family members can be recognized (Scagliarini Corlàita, 1995: 120).

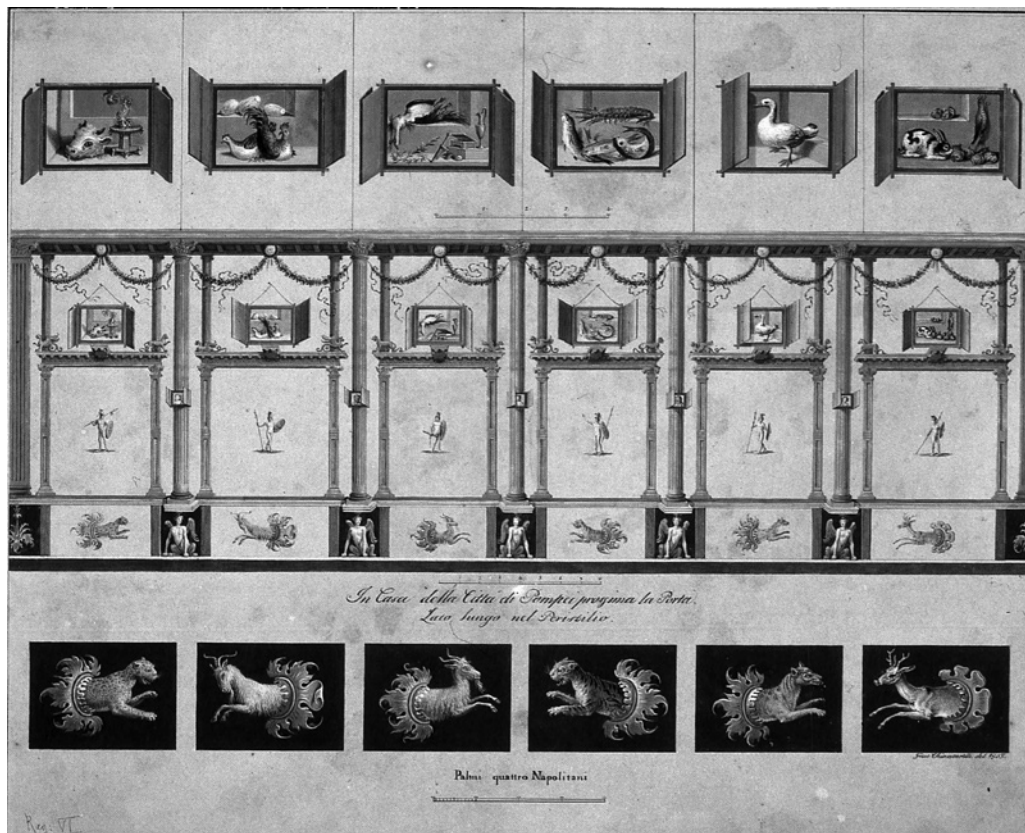


FIGURE 10.1 House of the Vestals, peristyle (39). Pompeii vi 1, 7 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI POMPEI, EROLANO E STABIA).

The paintings with doors from the House of Ara Maxima (VI 16, 15.17), located in the middle of the wall, merit separate mention. In the pseudo-*tablinum* we find a panel depicting Narkissos, framed by folding doors and sustained by brackets painted in perspective [fig. 10.2], alluding to a fixed support on which it rested (*PPM V*: 881);



FIGURE 10.2 House of Ara Maxima, pseudo-*tablinum* (D), Pinax with Narcissus. *Pompeii VI 16, 15.17*
(© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI POMPEI, ERCOLANO E STABIA).

two other elongated pictures with doors are painted on the pillars flanking the pseudo-*tablinum*, in which there is an intricate vegetal decoration (*PPM V*: 857). One of the last testimonies of this vogue comes from Trier [fig. 10.3] where, in the upper part of the so-called green room, we find a *pinax* with doors, depicting an articulated sacrificial scene (Santoro, 2007: 155).

Some of the reproductions in the middle part of the walls and set in large frames also refer to mobile *tabulae*, and one of the oldest testimonies can be found in the alcove of *cubiculum* B at the Villa della Farnesina. Alongside the large central painting of Dionysos suckling, there are two frescoed panels with a white ground, set in elaborate frames and held by Seirenes on phytomorphic plinths, in which we find pairs of female figures clearly inspired by models from Early Classicism (Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 135–136; Baldassarre, Pontrandolfo, Rouveret & Salvadori, 2002: 140). A similar arrangement can be found on the back wall of the alcove in *cubiculum* D. Here too, the central element – composed of a large fresco with what may be the scene of a sacrifice – is flanked on either side by squares held by telamons set on a floral support (Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 188–194). In both cases, there is the strong impression that the aim was to reproduce actual paintings on wood, inspired in both subject and composition by the models of great Greek painting (Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 128 for *cubiculum* B, 284 for *cubiculum* E). Instead, the interpretation of the central frescoes as *tabulae* is more debatable, and while their subjects and style evoke Hellenistic compositions, it seems harder to compare them to easel paintings, since they do not have a

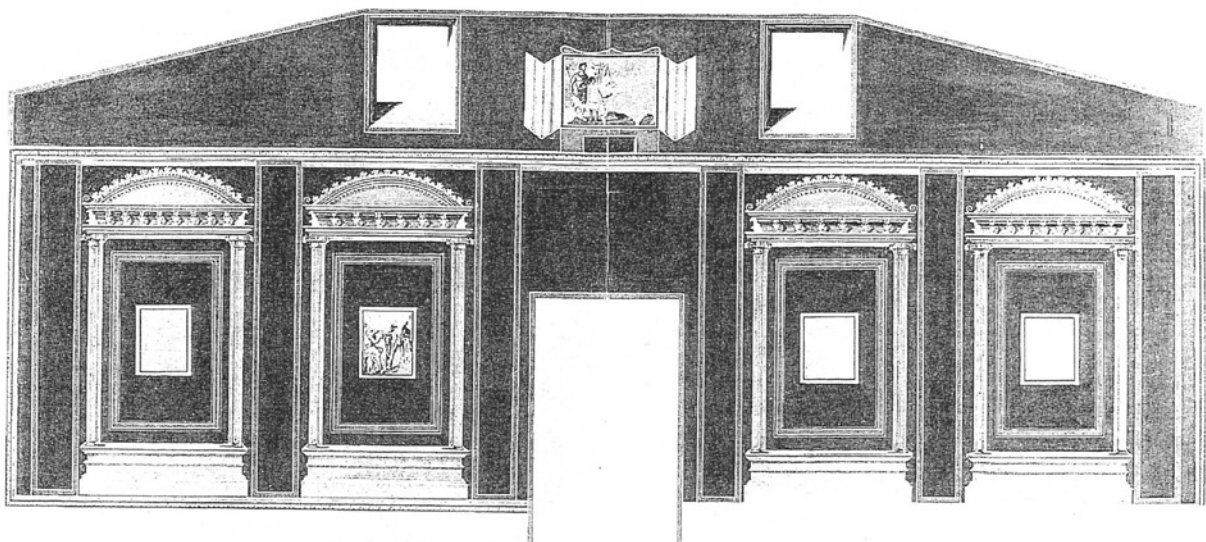


FIGURE 10.3 Reconstruction (1995) by Renate Thomas of the so-called Green Room, Pinax with Doors. *Trier* (© RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM).

straight upper edge. Analysis of the complex wall decoration of the two *cubicula* offers us clues that can enlighten us as to how a collector might choose which paintings to display. In B, for example, we can note a certain taste for thematic coherence in the erotic *pinakes* and stylistic consistency in the paintings set alongside the central one. In fact, they seem to be inspired by the Classical creations of the 5th century BCE, while the suckling of Dionysos instead shows a taste for the reproduction of Hellenistic compositions. We believe that, given the variety of subjects and styles, *cubiculum* B can readily be defined a “picture gallery” in the modern acceptance of a collection of very valuable works (Baldassarre, Pontrandolfo, Rouveret & Salvadori, 2002: 140–146). The decoration of the *cryptoporticus* of this same villa, in which we find no less than 15 *pinakes* reproduced, also evokes an exhibition of paintings. In terms of content, a religious/philosophical cycle has been noted in them (Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 83), while if we consider them in terms of composition and style, it seems that there is a coherent reference to Late Classical or Hellenistic creations. Nevertheless, what bears emphasising here is the fact that the presence of shaped frames clearly points to the desire to give the spectator the impression of being in a real picture “gallery” (Bragantini & De Vos, 1982: 77–96).

The custom of decorating the walls of private homes with *tabulae* and *tabellae*, either movable or reproduced as frescoes, endured for quite some time, as confirmed by the decoration in the House of Propertius in Assisi (Prioux, 2008: 65–121). In fact, the building has a long hallway whose walls are decorated with 16 *pinakes*, in which we can recognize mythological subjects that are original in both theme (such as the infancy of Iamos) and composition (e.g., Polyphemos and Galatea). The depictions are accompanied by graffito poetic inscriptions, in an association of text and image that has an illustrious precedent in the House of the Epigrams in Pompeii (Prioux, 2008: 29–63). For an interpretation of the cycle, which is not a unitary creation but the result of a series of additions and second thoughts, it is worth reading the careful and recent examination by Prioux (2008: 74–79), who sees an exaltation of the gods of poetry and theatre, Apollon and Dionysos. The scholar hits the mark with the Assisi picture gallery, an example of a conscious and developed choice in terms of subjects, which could probably not have been achieved by purchasing *tabulae*. Nevertheless, apart from the erudite interpretation of a possible programme, what must be emphasised here is the evident desire to give the visitor the impression of strolling through a real picture gallery, in which works with various

subjects and in different styles were reproduced using the fresco technique.

Therefore, while it is true that these displays of faux pictures confirm the circulation of the trend of adorning the walls of one's home with paintings on wood, we must also admit that they have contributed little to reconstructing the picture galleries cited by Vitruvius. None of the rooms we have examined respond to the rules dictated by the architect, who suggests they were quite large (*de architectura* vi.3,8: “pinacothecae, uti exhedrae amplis magnitudinibus sint constituendae” and had a Northern exposure, i.2,7: “pinacothecis [...] a septentrione” and vi.4,2: “aestiva ad septentrionem [...] non minus pinacothecae”). Instead, more helpful indications are provided as to how the paintings were distributed on the walls. In fact, in most cases they are positioned in the upper or middle zone, embedded or set on supports, though in rare cases they are detached and supported by elements on the floor. However, more stimulating food for thought comes from an analysis of the subjects and compositions, which seem to enlighten us regarding the basic criteria followed by an owner in choosing the works to display. In fact, most of the examples we have examined show a preference for associations according to theme, but we also find pictures juxtaposed based on stylistic considerations. To this end, we thought it would be useful to analyse a few Pompeian rooms based on the assumption that, even if there are no doors or frames, the pictures reproduced in them can be considered an expression not so much of a figurative programme whose significance might vary in complexity but, rather, of a desire to evoke real picture galleries.

F.G.

Private Picture Galleries: A Few Examples

The reproduction of paintings on wood allowed the *domini* to evoke the prestige of the public venues of the *urbs*, in which the Greek originals were preserved, but also their own personal culture, often in the form of in-depth knowledge of Greek mythology (Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 34–36). Interesting points of discussion can be found in the analysis of how the paintings were grouped together at the various private dwellings, in order to suggest ever-new visual paths, based on subject in some cases, chronology in others, and the patrons' tastes and culture in yet others.

Among the examples from this standpoint are the different associations that have been proposed for the portrayal of Akhilleus on Skyros, a depiction that may

be derived from a work by Athenion of Maroneia, from the Attic school of the 4th century BCE (Leach, 1994: 339–340; Ghedini, 1997a: 247; Ghedini, 1997b: 86; Ghedini, 1997c: 689–690; Ghedini, 2004: 21–22; Ghedini, 2009: 87; Ghedini, Colpo & Salvo, 2011: 620; for a contrasting opinion, Grassigli, 2007: 233). The subject is replicated in two frescoes, one from the House of the Dioskouroi (VI 9,6) [fig. 10.4] and the other from the House of Akhilleus (IX 5,1–3), as well as a wall mosaic from the House of Apollon (VI 7,23). The focal point of the compositions is the powerful gesture of supremacy in which Odysseus urges Akhilleus, who seems to hesitate. This deed probably represented the ideological – and perhaps also real – focus of the painting by the great master from Maroneia, given that Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxv.134), generally quite frugal in details when describing works of art, wrote “Achillem virginis habitu occultatum Ulixē dependente”. In the House of the Dioskouroi Athenion’s painting, located in the *tablinum* (42), is flanked by another fresco, unfortunately fragmentary, depicting Akhilleus’ anger towards Agamemnon (Romizzi, 2006: 95–96). The complexity of the composition, played out entirely on the intersection of divergent lines and accentuating the diagonals created by the bodies of Akhilleus and Athena, aimed at creating depth, powerfully evokes the approach of the Theban school of the 4th century BCE. In this regard, significant comparisons can be found in the *Rape of Persephone* in the Makedonian tomb of Aigai (Vergina), attributed to Nikomakhos (Moreno, 1987: 104–106; Kottaridi, 2007), and the famous mosaic depicting Alexandros and Dareios at the House of the Faun, stemming from a pictorial model by Philoxenos of Eretria (Moreno, 1987: 126–128). Therefore, it is not unlikely that the image with Akhilleus’ anger toward Agamemnon, too, was derived from a Greek original datable to the 4th century BCE. Therefore, in the *tablinum* there seem to have been two selection and association criteria for the *tabulae* to be exhibited: thematic, choosing episodes tied to the life of the *aristos ton Achaion*, and chronological, i.e., favouring a specific historical period in the brilliant season of Greek painting and, specifically, the 4th century BCE. Moreover, the “collecting” spirit that seems to have been working behind the scenes regarding the decorative choices of the owner of the House of the Dioskouroi is marvellously confirmed in the Korinthian *atrium* (37). The patron spared no expense in this room used for ceremonial purposes, collecting a series of original *tabulae*, as testified by the niches used to house movable paintings and found in the walls when the excavation work was done, *illo tempore*, by Giuseppe Fiorelli (1862: 208). Moreover, the *atrium* was adorned



FIGURE 10.4 House of the Dioskouroi, *tablinum* (42). Fresco with Akhilleus on Skyros. Pompeii VI 9, 6 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI POMPEI, ERCOLANO E STABIA).

with numerous small paintings with divine figures on a red ground, set in the middle of the panels in the middle area, which created an even more majestic atmosphere. The passageway towards the *peristylum* was also adorned with four *tabulae* depicting mythological landscapes (Romizzi, 2006: 90–95). The residence thus seems to resemble a sort of “museum” whose walls could accommodate costly paintings on wood as well as less expensive fresco reproductions of the finest Greek art, in a “inganno splendido” (Moreno, 1987: 7) made to be shown but also to show itself off.

Getting back to the painting with Akhilleus on Skyros, however, the same compositions found in the *tablinum* at the House of the Dioskouroi are significantly replicated and likewise associated in the wall mosaics of the summer *triclinium* of the nearby and coeval House of Apollon (Pisapia, 2004; for an iconographic analysis of the

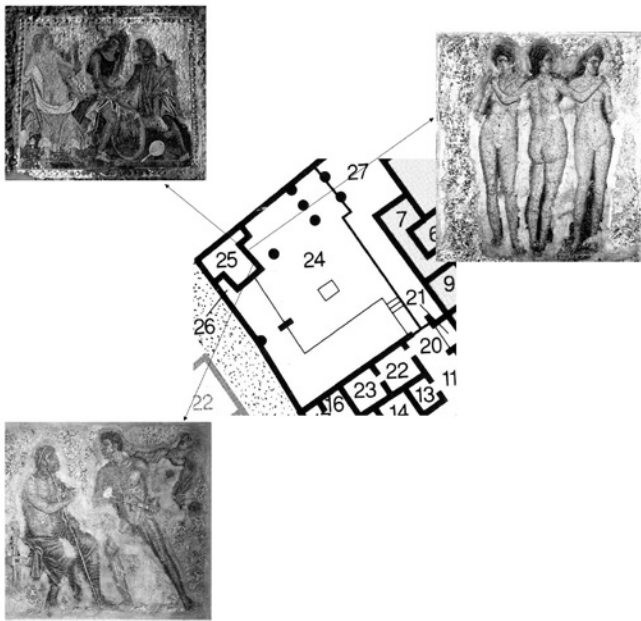


FIGURE 10.5 House of Apollon, summer *triclinium* (24). Layout of the paintings. *Pompeii* VI 7, 23 (© SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI POMPEI, ERCOLANO E STABIA).

painting with Akhilleus on Skyros, Ghedini, Colpo & Salvo, 2011: 618–621, fig. 10.5). Nevertheless, this milieu is also the source of yet another mosaic with the Kharites, portrayed according to the famous Hellenistic scheme that has come down to us through antiquity and reproduced in more recent eras (Manacorda, 2012). In a place dedicated to pleasure, where the *dominus* would enjoy time with his guests, flaunting luxury yet again took on the guise of a collection of pictures. The mosaics, with irregular frames composed of shells, were almost meant to give the impression to simulate real – and expensive – easel works (as noted by Pisapia, 2004: 365). In this case, however, the criterion underlying the selection of works to be displayed for the pleasure of guests seems to have been chronological: an exhibition of the masterpieces of the finest Greek painting from the 4th century BCE up to the height of Hellenism. But that is not all. The replica of the two paintings that also embellish the *tablinum* of the House of the Dioskouroi seems to suggest that the patron of the House of Apollon wanted to employ the mosaic technique to imitate the frescoes he had admired at the home of his wealthier and more prestigious neighbour, then adding the picture with the Kharites, and thus perhaps satisfying his own tastes.

The solution used in the room (u) at the House of Akhilleus differs yet again, as the fresco of Akhilleus on Skyros is associated with two pictures depicting

Hephaistos giving Akhilleus' weapons to Thetis, and Thetis in turn astride a sea monster as she brings the panoply to her son (*PPM* IX: 392–398). The composition set in the god's forge, which alludes to an astrological prediction, finds close parallels with the Fourth Style of the Vesuvian area (for example at the House of Meleagros, VI 9,2,13, *atrium* [2]; the House of the Gilded Cupids, VI 16,7, room [G]; the House of Vedius Siricus VII 1,25, *exedra* [10]) and can probably be linked with a model from Nero's era (Gury, 1986). Also the image of Thetis bearing Akhilleus' weapons is known almost exclusively through frescoes in the Fourth Style (for example, see the House of Meleagros, VI 9,2,13, *peristylum* [16]; the House of the Quadrigae, VII 2,25, *triclinium* [n]): here as well, the subject and execution point to the use of urban models. The criterion of collection painting was probably based here on thematic assumptions, as it was likely inspired by creations executed at different times (one Hellenistic and the other two probably coeval), but all related to the Akhilleian cycle.

G.S.

In conclusion, the examples illustrated here seem to confirm that there are no established rules regarding the choice of pictures to decorate a room. In fact, the associations proposed by the patron could be dictated not only by ideological motivations that are always difficult to reconstruct (save those that are clearly attributable to official policy), but also by the desire to “exhibit” copies of famous paintings, consistent in style or composition in some cases, but in others inspired by different phases in the eminent history of Greek painting. Belonging to the first type is room 20 at the House of the Citharist (I 4,5,25; in *PPM* I: 117,149–153), in which the decorative program seems to be dictated by political choices. In this room we find Late Classical painting with contemporaneous creations characterized by a strong political ideology. Otherwise, in the *tablinum* at the House of the Dioskouroi the connection of the portrayal of Akhilleus on Skyros with the painting depicting Akhilleus' anger towards Agamemnon is based both in the subject and in the common origin in the great Late Classical pictorial production. Similar considerations are suggested by the paintings in the House of Apollon in which the addition of the picture of the Kharites evokes Hellenistic figurative culture. Thematic assumptions instead dominate the room at the House of Akhilleus. In fact the pictures, inspired by creations executed at different times, are all related to the Akhilleian cycle. A “picture gallery”, in the modern sense of the term that is a place in which to collect valuable paintings, seems to be what we have in *cubiculum* B at the Villa della Farnesina. These

few examples illustrate the circulation of the trend of adorning the walls of homes with faux paintings in order to reconstruct fictitious picture galleries, but none of the rooms we have examined respond to the rules dictated by Vitruvius for his *pinacothecae*.

As we continue this line of research, we expect more connections to emerge. We will be analysing Pompeian rooms with enough readable decorative fresco cycles not only on the basis of subjects (according to a line of

research amply practised by archaeological literature), but also according to which models are reproduced. In any case, the leitmotif that seems to have been the common denominator in the choices made by patrons, and fully reflecting the spirit of this book, was the desire to create picture galleries which, even when “fake”, would unquestionably impress the observer.

F.G., G.S.

Temple Inventory and Fictive Picture Gallery: Ancient Painting between Votive Offering and Artwork*

Nathaniel Jones

The investigation of collecting practices, especially of the visual arts, is inevitably accompanied by a question of display. The display of a collection, whether public or private, is synonymous with the imposition of order onto the objects of that collection. Yet only in rare cases have the vagaries of textual transmission and archaeological survival preserved evidence of these aspects of ancient art consumption. This is especially true for the collection and display of panel painting, a more ephemeral medium than sculpture. Literary sources, especially of the Roman Republic and Empire, indicate that Greek panel paintings produced from the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE counted among the most desirable and most highly praised of all artistic products of Greco-Roman antiquity (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.118; Cicero *Brutus* 70; Quintilianus, *institutio oratoria* xii.10,3–6). And panel paintings, extremely portable and easy to display (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.37), were eminently collectible. The trade in panel painting in the final centuries BCE must have been widespread and of a highly varied character. On one end of the spectrum Cicero writes with delight of the little panels he has purchased to decorate a *porticula* at his villa at Tusculum (Cicero, *ad familiares* vii.23,3). On the other Augustus paid 600,000 *denarii* for the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* of Apelles (Strabon, xiv.2,19), which he then erected in the Forum of Iulius Caesar (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.91).

Outside of the well-known mummy portraits (Parlasca, 1969–2003; Seipel, 1998) and other finds from Roman Egypt (Matthews, 2001: 163–177; Sande, 2004: 81–100) only a few painted panels of any kind, such as the archaic wooden tablets from Pitsa (Orlandos in *EAA* VI.200–06, s.v. *Pitsa*) and the painted marble panels from Roman Campania

(Mielsch, 1979: 233–248; Graeve, 1985: 227–256), have survived to the present day. And, although Plinius records the locations of nearly fifty panel paintings in the city of Roma alone (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv, *passim*; cf. Rouveret, 1989: 475–476), he pays little attention to their organisation or display.

Some hints of the collection and display of panel paintings have survived, however, of which the following paper reads in tandem two distinct sources. These are a set of inscribed temple inventories from late Hellenistic Delos and a group of Roman fresco paintings from the Villa della Farnesina, likely executed sometime between 28 (Mols & Moormann, 2008: 79–80) and 19 BCE (Beyen, 1948: 19–20), perhaps on behalf of a member of the imperial family. The former include among their lists of votive offerings a wide range of robust and precise descriptive terms for painted panels; in the latter representations of panel paintings appear set within illusionistic architectural frameworks.

Each of these may be considered a representation of a collection at least insofar as it refers to a body of objects assembled for ‘symbolic rather than actual needs’ (Bounia, 2004: 1) and the goal of this paper is to examine both the constitutive parts and the compositional logic of those collections, with special attention given to panel painting. It seeks to understand both what kinds of panel paintings the sources refer to, and the ways in which those paintings were organised and displayed. Art historians have relatively rarely, and only briefly, discussed the paintings listed in the Delian inventories with reference to the surviving material record (Vallois, 1913: 289–299; 16; Pfuhl, 1923: 613–614; Fuhrmann, 1931: 291 n. 58; Pritchett, 1956: 253; Schefold, 1972: 50; Moreno in *EAA*: VI.171–174, s.v. *pinakes*, 1987: 16; Scheibler, 1998: 1–2; 2000: 1030, s.v. *pinax* (6); cf. Jones, 2014: 295–304). But such a comparison yields a number of heretofore-unrecognised insights. Not only did each format of panel painting imitated in Roman mural decoration of the 1st century BCE have an attested precedent in the Hellenistic world, the Roman mural panels essentially exhaust the Hellenistic descriptive terminology. Yet, where a lexical comparison of the inventories and murals reveals a web of connections, a structural comparison elucidates deep dissimilarities

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between the two contexts in the organisation and value of panel painting.

Those dissimilarities highlight the novelty of the murals of the Farnesina. In the temple inventories, painted panels are simply one category of votive offering, given no more emphasis or importance than any of the other, myriad dedications. As has long been recognised, however, the paintings of the Farnesina figure themselves specifically as collections of fictive panel paintings, or *pinacothecae* (Leach, 1982: 162–164; 1988: 373–403; 2004: 137–140; Scheibler, 1994: 32–33; Bergmann, 1995: 102–107; Clarke, 2005: 264–278; Hallett, 2005: 433–435; Tanner, 2006: 267–276; Wyler, 2006: 213–232; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 69–77; cf. Van Buren, 1938: 70–81). Moreover, the panel paintings represented in the murals of the Villa della Farnesina are worked not only in a wide variety of formats but also in an equally impressive array of genres and historical styles. The variety and specificity of reference are so complete as to suggest that these murals present the image of an encyclopaedic collection of panel paintings, in which examples of the preceding centuries of Greek artistic production were brought together and recast as notional *spolia* in a Roman domestic context. The term *spolia* is meant here both in its ancient militaristic sense as the spoils of war, to indicate that Greek art accrued to Roma at least in part through a process of conquest (Pape, 1975; Miles, 2008: 13–104), and in its contemporary art-historical sense, to indicate the re-use of a pre-existing artistic material, form, or type (Brilliant, 1982: 2–17; Brilliant and Kinney, 2011). In both senses, access to *spolia* is a by-product of Roma's conquest of the Mediterranean. But beyond serving as testaments to political reality, this paper argues, the murals reveal a powerful concept of the painted panel as an object of collection whose value does not lie solely in its physical form.

The Lexicon of the Painted Panel

Temple inventories were already produced on Delos in the Classical period. Yet such inventories, compiled and inscribed anew every year, only began to list objects in non-precious materials, including statues and paintings, after 166 BCE (Hamilton, 2000: 8–11, 40–43, 465–479; cf. Prêtre, 1999: 389–96). I have systematically appraised the information yielded by the inventories concerning painted panels in light of the material record elsewhere (Jones, 2014: 295–304). Here I offer a brief epitome of the major correspondences and points of divergence between the two. Twenty-one surviving inventories from Delos refer to panel paintings; they apply at least thirty-five

different descriptive modifiers to the term *πίναξ*. One inventory in particular, executed in the year 155–156 BCE under the archonship of Kallistratos (*IDelos* iii.1417), refers more frequently to painted panels than any other – listing more than 220 – even though it now lacks the section concerning the holdings of the sanctuary of Apollon, which would have been the wealthiest on the island. In most cases we have no idea at all what the subject matter of the paintings might have been, but the inscriptions yield a full and varied picture of descriptive terms for the sizes, material supports, formats, and modes of display of painted panels.

Independent physical counterparts to most of the terms given in the inventories do not survive, but representations of painted panels began to appear within Roman murals sometime in the middle of the 1st century BCE. The densest collection of such fictive painted panels to have survived comes from an early Augustan villa sited on the right bank of the Tiber River, commonly referred to as the Villa della Farnesina. The villa was partially excavated in 1878–79 during the digging of the embankments of the Tiber (Andreae, 1969: 430–453; Bragantini & de Vos, 1982; Mols & Moormann, 2008). The decorative schemes of the villa's three surviving *cubicula* are particularly striking in the rich variety of fictive painted panels incorporated into complex architectural illusions.

Cubicula B and D, which flanked the *triclinium* (C) and opened directly onto the garden of the villa (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 128–233; Sanzi di Mino, 1998: 56–93; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 21–37), share a basic composition. The long walls lining the antechambers of both *cubicula* display an architectural scheme probably based ultimately on the articulation of a theatre front (Beyen, 1938; Clarke, 1991: 47–49; Sauron, 1994: 536–567; Leach, 2004: 93–114). On the left wall of *cubiculum* B, above a multi-coloured dado, a narrow green stage projects from a deep red backing wall; white fluted columns rise from podia, themselves projecting out from the stage, to support a narrow architrave [fig. 11.1]. Under the architrave the backing wall is separated into two registers by a simple white cornice. Fictive panels and lifelike candelabra in the forms of the Egyptian deities Isis and Zeus Ammon enliven an otherwise severe rhythm. The alcove walls of B share the same dado, stage, and backing wall as the antechamber walls. But the rear wall of the alcove, by contrast, is articulated into a more centralised and compact composition of an *aedicula* supported by columns rising from a projection of the stage [fig. 11.2]. The vibrant red of the backing walls dominates both rooms, but that strong colour is offset by an exceptionally dense proliferation of architectural details, fictive panels and sculptural forms, which are each



FIGURE 11.1 Cubiculum B, left-hand antechamber wall, ca. 28–19 BCE. Villa della Farnesina, Roma (PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI ROMA).

executed in their own distinctive palettes. Although the bed alcove is more clearly offset from the antechamber, and the entire mural is rendered almost exclusively in a monochromatic white, the basic compositional scheme of *cubiculum* E is similar (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 284–336; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 46–50): a low dado, narrow stage, closely set backing wall, and a number of *aediculae* supported by freestanding columns rising from the stage. As in B and D, the architectural illusion is punctuated by representations of freestanding sculpture, architectural sculpture, and especially panel painting.

It is difficult to establish firm connections between the inventories and the fictive paintings depicted in these rooms on the basis of size or material support; descriptions of size in the inventories are relative rather than absolute, and in the play of medium transfer at the Farnesina it is almost impossible to determine a specific material support for the fictive panels. But in the formats and modes of display of the represented panels, the overlap between the two bodies of evidence is startling. Each of the formats of the fictive panels at the Villa della Farnesina corresponds to one of the surviving descriptive terms. Those fictive panels, moreover, essentially exhaust the descriptive terms, and the few remaining formats of panels known from the inventories may be located in other Roman murals of the 1st centuries BCE and CE (Jones, 2014: 295–

304). The preciseness of that correspondence would seem to indicate a deep connection between the two corpora. But since there is no reason to believe that the Hellenistic inventories and the Roman murals were actually linked in any strict historical sense, we may perhaps infer that they correspond because they both refer to the most broadly popular, commonly known formats of panel painting circulating in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean.

Even a few such correspondences are illustrative. In *cubiculum* B, sitting on the cornice of the left-hand antechamber wall [fig. 11.1], is a shuttered panel, called a *πίναξ τεθυρωμένος* in the inventories (*IDélos* iii.1417 A.1.11; *IDélos* ii.1400 A.39; *IDélos* iii.1426 A.1.17, A.1.27–28), with an erotic scene showing a partially undressed man and woman seated on a bed attended by three servants. Near the shuttered panel, also resting on the cornice, is a pair of simple octagonal panels, each showing human figures against a black background and each marked out by a double frame. Such a panel may have been designated as a *πίναξ ἀθύροτος*, or panel without shutters (*IDélos* iii.1417, A.1.12, A.1.13, A.1.14, A.1.15, A.2.53; *IDélos* iii.1426 A.1.24, A.1.30, A.1.33), and the frame denoted by the term *πεπλασιωμένος* (*IDélos* iii.1438 A.2; *IDélos* iii.1443 B.2.51; *IDélos* iii.1446.24; *IDélos* iii.1449 d.15). In the terminology of the inventories, all three of the panels resting on the cornice may also have been considered *πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ*, or set against the wall

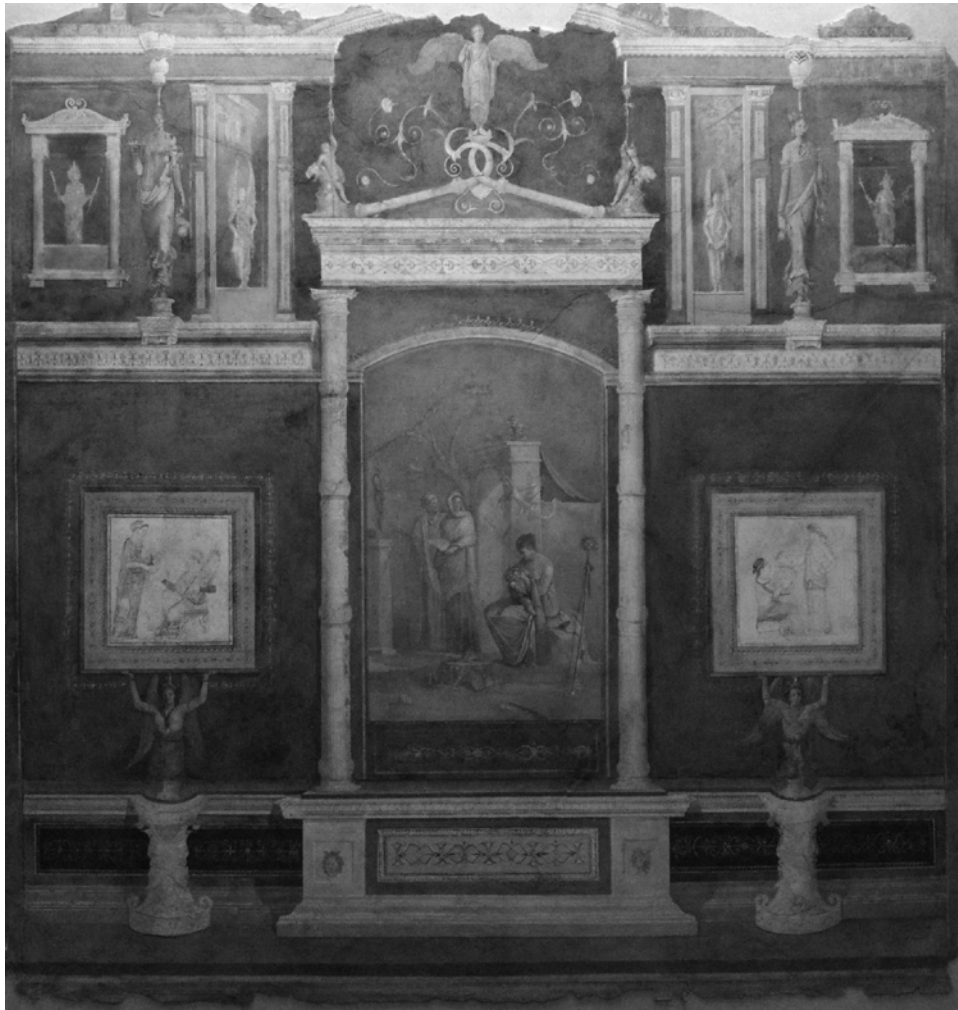


FIGURE 11.2 Cubiculum B, rear alcove wall, ca. 28–19 BCE. Villa della Farnesina, Roma (PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI ROMA).

(*IDélos* iii.1442 B.1.32, B.1.35; *IDélos* iii.1426 A.1.22). On the same antechamber wall, the central scene shows Venus enthroned, attended by a handmaid and winged Cupid. Although at first glance this area may seem to form a part of the illusionistic architecture of the room or even to be a prospect set beyond the backing wall, it is more likely a representation of a large white arcuated panel decorated with figural painting (Ehlich, 1953: 122–138). As both René Vallois (1913: 295–296) and Ingeborg Scheibler (1998: 2) have previously suggested, this format likely corresponds to the ‘imbedded panel’, listed in the inscriptions as a *πίναξ ἐμβλήτος* (*IDélos* iii.1417 A.2.36, B.2.63; *IDélos* iii.1426 B.2.39–40; *IDélos* iii.1442 B.1.38; *IDélos* iii.1443 B.2.105).

The term *ἐμβλήτος* normally refers to metalwork, but an *emblema* is a figural scene framed within a larger mosaic pattern (Lucilius, *carmina* 85M; Varro, *rerum rusticarum* iii.24), and a number of Latin sources attest to the practice of imbedding panels in the wall (Plautus,

menaechmi 143; Cicero, *ad Atticum* i.10,3; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.26, xxxv.27; Iustinianus, *digesta Iustiniani Augusti* xix.17.3,1). In the material record, the well-known painted marble panel of the Niobids playing knucklebones, signed by Alexandros the Athenian and now in Naples (Museo Nazionale di Napoli inv. 9562), is bevelled at the back as though for insertion into a frame, and traces of a cement-like substance remain (Graeve, 1985: 245 fig. 24). Considering the weight of the marble panel, an architectural frame would seem most likely. Furthermore, the thin border running around the edge of the Venus panel would seem to indicate that, according to the spatial logic of the mural, the fictive panel is laterally flush and contiguous, but not materially continuous, with its architectural surroundings.

On the rear alcove wall of the room we find another *πίναξ ἐμβλήτος* under an *aedicula*, which shows the infant Dionysos nursed by the nymphs of Nyssa [fig. 11.2]. Two

square white-ground fictive panels flank the central scene. Each has been carefully marked out from its surroundings by a tripartite frame composed of a rounded, tooled white segment surrounded by a filigreed gold band, enclosed, in turn, by a blue-green L-frame. As Stephanie Wyler and Verity Platt have shown, however, the fictive framing devices here are not strictly believable (Wyler, 2006: 218; Platt, 2009: 47). Silvered scrollwork appears to float above the red backing wall around each panel, and depictions of Seirenes reach up to grasp onto those green frames. Like the candelabra-like figures of Isis and Zeus Ammon on the left and right walls of the same room, the upper halves of the Seirenes are depicted naturalistically, as though they were living beings, but below the waist they transition into round white marble bases, which rest on the green stage running around the room. The layers of fiction and artifice are especially complex in this passage of the mural. Nevertheless the inventories describe panels resting on bases, ἐπὶ βάσεως (*IDélos* 3.1417 A.1.11, A.1.12), and we might consider each assemblage a framed panel on a base, or a πίναξ πεπλαισιμένος ἐπὶ βάσεως.

Beyond *cubiculum* B are a few other representations of panels known from the Delian inventories. Particularly noteworthy are the stucco panels that decorated vaults throughout the house (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 61–63, 284, 291–294; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 291–294). These may correspond to πίνακες ὀροφικοί, that is, panels set into ceiling coffers (*IDélos* iii.1417 A.2.17; *IDélos* iii.1442 B.2.39–40). Finally, the alternating scenes of landscape and still lifes running above the cornice in corridor F–G (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 337–341; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 50–53) would seem to reflect the construction of the ‘frieze panel’, or πίναξ διαζωματικός (*IDélos* iii.1442 B.1.42; *IDélos* iii.1443 B.2.110). There are no fictive panels at the Farnesina whose formats and modes of display cannot be accounted for by terms present in the Delian inventories, even if only in a general sense.

Structure of Collection and Display

The fictive panels of the Farnesina and the descriptive terms of the Delian inventories overlap so closely on the individual, lexical level that they evidently refer to the same limited corpus of common formats of panel painting. But they demonstrate drastically different approaches to the collection and display of panel painting at the structural level. In the inventories, the dedicated panel paintings are simply one of many kinds of votive offerings. Their primary value, it seems, lay in their status as ἀναθήματα, as the possessions of the gods to whom they

had been dedicated, rather than specifically in their aesthetic or art-historical qualities. The comparative neglect of content, style, time-period, and painter of the panels listed in the inventories is a by-product of the genre of both the votive offering and the inventory list. By contrast, the name of the dedicator frequently appears, making it clear that *what* was dedicated and *by whom* were the most important points of reference, both for the original dedicators and the later officials tasked with recording the holdings of the island’s sanctuaries. The other information we are given is clearly identificatory – where a given panel was located, what material it was made from, what its format was. Only in extremely noteworthy cases, such as a portrait of King Lysimakhos (*IDélos* iii.1417 A.1.13–4) or a panel by the famed Athenian painter Parrasios (*IDélos* iii.1426 A.32), did the content or artistic origin merit inclusion in the inventory.

Furthermore, we find no complements to the room in the Athenian Propylaia hung with paintings, the οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς recorded by Pausanias (i.22,6). Instead paintings are dispersed among many other kinds of dedications in exceptionally heterogeneous treasuries. The implication of such integration is that in the sacred economy of votive offerings, paintings were not necessarily more desirable than any other kind of object. Note the variety of gifts kept in the *naos* of the Kyntheion, for instance:

ΕΝ Τ[ΩΙ Κ]ΥΝΘΙΩΙ·ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΟΙΚΩΙ ΕΝ ΩΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ
· τὸ ἀγαλμα χαλκοῦν ὡς τριῶν ἡμιποδίων ἐπὶ βάσεως
λιθίνης· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν πομπικόν· κρατήρα
κορινθιουργή· κάρδοπον λιθίνην· κλίνας σαν<ι>δωτάς
δέκα δύο ἐχούσας τραπέζια ἐξ αὐτῶν· πίνακας εἰκονικούς
δέκα καὶ ἄλλον μείζω ἀθύρωτον, ἀνάθεμα Δημέου τοῦ
Αὐτοκλέους· ἄλλον ἔχοντα χειρογραφίαν ἀθύρωτον,
ἀνάθεμα Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Αὐτοκλέους· θύρωμα ἔχον ἥλους
χαλκοῦς, ἐλλείποντα ἓνα· κλεῖν ἀνάπαιστον σιδηρᾶν.
(*IDélos* iii.1417 A.11.47–55)

In the Kyntheion. In the chamber in which the god (is): A bronze statue about three half-feet, on a stone base; a bronze processional censer; a Corinthian-made *krater*; a stone kneading trough; ten chairs made with planks with two small tables fastened to them; ten panels with portraits and another, larger one without shutters, the dedication of Demeas son of Autokleos; another panel without shutters painted by hand, the dedication of Themison son of Autokleos; a door with bronze nails, one missing; a forged iron key.

A bronze statue, a censer, a *krater*, ten panel paintings: these are all, evidently, on equal footing as votive goods

with chairs, tables, a kneading trough, a door, and even a key. From the inventory alone we cannot ascertain specifically how these offerings were organised and displayed, or whether they were ascribed different values, but it seems unlikely that any organising principle could mask the basic heterogeneity of the objects. A treasury near the Ekklesiasterion presents an analogous situation (*IDélos* iii.1417 A.1.8–33) – one bronze portrait, one stone statue, fourteen panels, eight shields, four chitons, and a wooden model of a shrine – and other sanctuaries on the island follow the same pattern.

The sanctuaries on Delos had existed for centuries prior to the composition of the Hellenistic inventories, and in that time a vast number of people had dedicated myriad objects for diverse reasons in equally diverse contexts. As Josephine Shaya elucidates in this volume, the vertiginous effect created by listing one item after another in temple inventories served an important function. In the context of the system of mutual exchange on which Greco-Roman religion depended, each votive offering represented an individual act of devotion. An inventory, accordingly, was nothing less than a religious history of the site, even if that history may have been more obvious in the case of the Lindian Chronicle, in which relatively few objects were described, and each was associated with a specific epiphany of Athena (Higbie, 2003; Shaya, 2005: 423–442 and chapter 2; Platt, 2010: 197–213). But the annual recapitulation of the inventories on Delos, the vast number of objects re-counted and re-inscribed year after year, attests precisely to the deep significance of a history of material offerings for the presentation of the island as a long-sacred place. Although the treasuries recorded in the inventories were collections of precious objects, by necessity valuable both to the dedicators and to the gods to whom they had been given, they were not curated collections in the sense that they had been assembled at a single time or to express a coherent ideological or aesthetic program.

Yet we may recognize a similar degree of heterogeneity in a number of other, non-votive collections and sites of display of material objects, many discussed elsewhere in this volume. One such is the festival pavilion of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, described in a passage of Athenaios (*deipnosophistai* v.196a–197d) supposedly quoting the 2nd-century BCE author Kallixeinos of Rhodes (Rice, 1983; Calandra, 2011). Athenaios asserts that the decorations of the pavilion included such luxury items as tapestries, painted panels, 100 marble figures, paintings by the artists of the Sikyonian school, portraits, garments of cloth and gold, and military cloaks with figures woven in them – some portraits of kings, others mythological subjects – shields, tripods, and an immense amount

of silverware. The collection of Gaius Verres, amassed during his exploitative governorship of Sicily, provides a further parallel (Zimmer, 1994: 867–874; Miles, 2002: 28–49; 2008: 105–217; Weis, 2003: 359–365; Bounia, 2004: 269–306; Lazzeretti, chapter 8). According to Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4.1), Verres availed himself for his personal collection of every silver vessel, Korinthian and Delian bronze, gem, pearl, everything made of gold or ivory, every bronze, marble, and ivory statue; and every picture, either on panel or in textile, that he had found pleasing throughout the province of Sicily.

In the archaeological record, we may think of the cargo recovered from the ships wrecked off the coast of Antikythera (Bol, 1972; Kaltsas et al., 2012) and Mahdia (Hellenkemper Salies, 1994). Whether or not they were destined to form unified collections or were to be distributed among many buyers, both cargoes demonstrate that the items they contained were grouped together under the same basic economic rubric. They included architectural elements, *stelai*, bronze and marble sculpture from different epochs worked in an array of historical styles, but also jewellery, bronze and wood couch fittings, and glass mosaic bowls. Though we cannot access the motivations behind these assemblages of precious objects, to judge from the occasions for which they were compiled they must have differed significantly. Yet, like the treasures enumerated in the Delian inventories, all four attest to a broad interest in variety and heterogeneity. Other principles of acquisition and organisation may have existed, but we note first that each collection gathers together a particularly wide and impressive range of finely crafted and valuable objects.

This is all in stark contrast to the murals in the *cubicula* of the Farnesina, which present a very focused image of a collection of pictures. There are other allusions to wealth and taste in addition to the fictive panels: the references to theatrical architecture, the multi-coloured marble facing of the fictive architecture in *cubicula* B and D, the representations of both architectural and free-standing sculpture. But these elements are not obviously presented as *objects of collection* within the murals; rather, they are part of the represented rooms' furniture: first-order fictions operating on the same level of illusion as the painted architecture itself. The fictive panels, by contrast, present a more complex series of second-order fictions. Each fictive panel interrupts the primary illusion of the room – the depiction of architectural space – by offering its own individual, discrete plane of representation. Because the fictive panels constantly assert themselves in opposition to the surrounding architecture, that architecture becomes a large-scale frame. Where the representations of sculpture

are folded within the overall decorative schemes of the Farnesina *cubicula*, the representations of panel painting are consistently marked out as distinct entities, as objects worthy of collection and display.

The Farnesina murals do not simply feature representations of panel paintings; they specifically frame those panel paintings as objects of collection. A number of scholars have addressed the picture-gallery aspect of the Farnesina paintings (Leach, 1982: 162–164; 1988: 373–403; 2004: 137–140; Scheibler, 1994: 32–33; Bergmann, 1995: 102–107; Clarke, 2005: 264–278; Hallett, 2005: 433–435; Tanner, 2006: 267–276; Wyler, 2006: 213–232; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 69–77), and the topic of the *pinacotheca* is treated at some length by Francesca Ghedini and Giulia Salvo in chapter 10. Here we may note that the concept of the picture gallery may have provided a particular point of interest to intellectuals in the late Republic and early principate. The earliest attested uses of the word *pinacotheca*, in either Latin or Greek, had occurred in Varro's *rerum rusticarum* (i.2,10 and i.59,2), where picture galleries were contrasted with *oporothecae*, or “fruit-galleries,” evidently spaces for storing apples and other fruits. Varro initially seems to employ the term *oporothea* as a rustic contrast to the luxurious picture galleries of men such as the outrageously wealthy Lucius Licinius Lucullus, but he then admits that some people dine in their fruit-galleries precisely to enjoy the *spectaculum* that they present, an aesthetic appeal apparently confirmed by the virtuosic representations of fruit in contemporary wall paintings such as those of *cubiculum* M of the villa of Boscoreale (Bergmann, et al., 2010). The word *oporothea* is unattested in Greek, and it has been proposed that Varro may have coined the term himself (Leach, 2004: 123; Heurgon, 2003: 111, no. 31); I might further suggest that *pinacotheca* may have been a neologism as well. It remained a rare and specialised term, attested only eleven other times in Latin (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.2, xxxv.148; Petronius, *satyrica* 83,1; 83,7; 93,3; *CIL* vi 10243, a153; Vitruvius, *de architectura* i.2,7; vi.3,8; vi.4,2; vi.5,2; vi.7,3), and only twice in Greek literature (Strabon, both at xiv.1,14). But whatever its specific origin, by the late 1st century BCE the concept of the *pinacotheca* as a site dedicated to the display of panel paintings was evidently well defined among elite Romans.

Taken as fictive *pinacothae*, the murals of the Farnesina differ categorically from the collections represented by the temple inventories from Delos or any of the other sources given above: the murals simply represent a much more restricted and focused category of collection. Yet within that categorical difference there are both important passages of similarity and further points of distinction. On the one hand, the strict correspondences between the

Hellenistic terminology and the Roman fictive panels would indicate that both refer to commonly available formats of panel painting. On the other hand, the fictive picture galleries, which are intricately composed and vibrantly multi-coloured, demonstrate an interest in visual variety analogous to the heterogeneity of the temple treasuries. The fictive panels of the Farnesina also vary widely in style and subject matter – ranging from early Classical to Hellenistic styles and from Dionysian to Isiac motifs. Bettina Bergmann (1995: 105–102) and Stephanie Wyler (2006: 213–232) have argued persuasively that the broad assemblage of styles and subjects at the Farnesina function as an interpretive key to the overall program of decoration of the villa. They assert that each genre and style evoked in these murals would have been coded to a contemporary Roman audience as ‘Greek’, and that the accumulation of them all in the same place would have created the dual effect of cultured, exotic otherness and a very familiar sense of the totalizing drive of Augustan imperialism. In recognising that this drive manifests itself through the selection and display of fictive panels, we may aim for further precision in characterising the murals as a collection.

At least six distinct genres appear in the fictive panels of *cubiculum* B alone (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 129–133; Clarke, 1998: 91–107; Wyler, 2006: 213–232; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 21–30). These include the erotic scene of the shuttered panel and the theatrical scenes of the small octagonal panels on the long antechamber wall, the mythological scene of the infant Dionysus nursed by nymphs on the rear alcove wall, and its accompanying genre scenes of musicians. They also include, in the ceiling stuccoes, complex sacral-idyllic landscapes and a scene of initiation into the Dionysian mysteries, in which a *silenos* is about to unveil the mystical phallus before three initiates. The wide variety of styles on display within the fictive panels, too, has long been recognised, at least in general outline (Bragantini & de Vos, 1982: 128–39; Bergmann, 1995: 103–104; Hallett, 2005: 433; Leach, 2004: 137–129; Wyler, 2006: 218–221; Tanner, 2006: 268–269; Mols & Moormann, 2008: 71–72). It is often noted, for instance, that the white-ground paintings of *cubicula* B and D resemble 5th-century white-ground vases from Athenai, and that in contrast the scene of the infant Dionysos employs a colouristic technique only developed in the Hellenistic period.

In one of the few attempts to identify precisely the stylistic references of the paintings, Bernard Andreae (1969: 439) suggested a parallel between the seated maiden holding an *alabastron* shown on a small rectangular white-ground panel in *cubiculum* E and the work of

the mid-5th-century Athenian Lykaon Painter. We may indicate further points of stylistic reference within the white-ground panels of *cubicula* B and D. The earliest appears on the left-hand antechamber wall of D, near the door. A nude figure of Iuppiter, leaning on a tall, thin staff, stands in a rectangular white-ground panel demarcated by a delicately rendered double-frame [fig. 11.3]. The figure is worked entirely in outline drawing, delineated by thin but confident brushstrokes.

No monumental painting has survived that matches the Iuppiter from *cubiculum* D. But the record of Attic white-ground vase painting has provided a striking *comparandum*, and though Stephen Mols & Eric Moormann (2008: 71) have questioned the utility of comparing Roman wall paintings with Attic white-ground vases, most of which were destined for a funerary context (Oakley, 2004), it would be strange if the style of drawing on such ceramics were not roughly analogous to that of panels and wall paintings in 5th-century Athenai. If this is so, then the Farnesina figure has been rendered in a style of drawing

popular in Athenai during the second quarter of the 5th century BCE, as an almost precise stylistic analogue has survived in the archaeological record on a white-ground bobbin attributed to the Pentesilea Painter, and dated to between 460 and 450 BCE [fig. 11.4] (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 28.167; *ARV*² 890.175; Robertson, 1992: 165; Picón & de Puma, 2007: 122, no. 134). The pertinent figure, a youth pursued by Eros, is the rightmost on side B of the disk. The two figures are not identical, at least in part because the Pentesilea Painter employed a dilute glaze wash for his outline drawing. This wash was more viscous and stickier than a matte pigment; as a result the sureness and roundness of line suffered (Cohen, 2006: 220–221).

Yet in their poses, the composition of their bodies and in the handling of line the two figures match each other very closely. We may pay particular attention to the rendering of the abdominal muscles in each figure, especially to the single, hooked line that separates abdomen from right hip, and the outward turned proper left leg, with the tendons attached behind the knee indicated by two simple strokes. Or we may note the manner in which each figure's long, curly locks of hair fall over his shoulders. The Farnesina Iuppiter does not present a complete simulacrum of 5th-century painting, as the rendering of its eyes and hands in particular reveals, but the stylistic reference is nevertheless extremely clear.



FIGURE 11.3 Cubiculum D, detail of left-hand antechamber wall, ca. 28–19 BCE. Villa della Farnesina, Roma (PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI ROMA).



FIGURE 11.4 Side B, Attic Terracotta Bobbin, attributed to the Pentesilea Painter, ca. 460–450 BCE (© THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, COURTESY OF ARTSTOR IMAGES FOR ACADEMIC PUBLISHING).

The leftmost of the two white-ground panels on the rear alcove wall of *cubiculum* B evokes a slightly later style [fig. 11.5]. The scene, a standing woman on the left facing a seated musician on the right of the panel, mirrors a surviving white-ground *lekythos* attributed to the early phase of the Achilles Painter's career (ca. 450–440), generally interpreted as two Mousai on Mount Helikon [fig. 11.6] (Munich Antikensammlung Sch. 80; *ARV*² 997.155; Robertson, 1992: 201; Boardman, 1996: 203; Oakley, 1997: pl. 12; 2004: 96–97; Schmidt, 2005: 54–55). In both scenes, the standing figure on the left tilts her head, cocks her wrist, and extends her right hand at precisely the same angle. In both, the musician seated to the right splays out her fingers across the strings of her instrument. Even the facial profiles echo each other, as does the fall of drapery on the mantles of the standing figures.

Although the traditional date for the vase by the Achilles Painter is just a decade later than the bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter, the stylistic differences are pronounced. Both are worked in outline, and though the Achilles Painter's figures are less dynamically posed, the handling of line is even surer, the softness of contour more delicate. The figures of the Achilles Painter are less archaic and more persuasively human than those of the Penthesilea Painter, and in that, they mirror the

relationship of the Farnesina musicians to the figure of Iuppiter. The painters of the Farnesina workshop could not have known these specific vases, but they must have been familiar with the broader developments in style in



FIGURE 11.5 Cubiculum B, detail of rear alcove wall, ca. 28–19 BCE. Villa della Farnesina, Roma (PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – SOPRINTENDENZA SPECIALE PER I BENI ARCHEOLOGICI DI ROMA).



FIGURE 11.6 Attic White-Ground, Lekythos, attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca. 450–440 BCE (PHOTO: R. KÜHLING, COURTESY OF THE STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNGEN UND GLYPTOTHEK MÜNCHEN).

5th-century Athenai that the vases marked. It seems scarcely credible that a Roman viewer could distinguish individual decades within the history of Greek painting, but the careful distinction of styles appears to bear out the existence of such connoisseurship.

Less precise historical connections can be established for the large imbedded panels in *Cubiculum* B. The scene of Venus attended by a handmaid and Cupid on the long wall must refer generally to high Classical painting, although the roundness of limbs and use of light shading inside contour lines to emphasise volume resonates most with 4th-century examples outside of Greece, like the painted tomb at Kazanlak (Vasiliev, 1960; Zhivkova, 1973) or the painted sarcophagus from Çan (Sevinç et al., 2001: 383–420). As J.J. Pollitt has suggested (1986: 190–191), such ‘provincial’ products may reflect the developments of a few decades prior in Athenai and other cultural centres. The large Dionysos panel on the alcove wall, by contrast, likely points toward early Hellenistic painting, although we cannot place its reference with any certainty. The foreshortening, strong handling of colour and light, and the precision of modelling appear for the first time in the archaeological record in the stag-hunt pebble mosaic signed by Gnosis from House 1.5 at Pella, executed in the later 4th century BCE (Salzmann, 1982: 28–30; Pollitt, 1986: 41–42; Dunbabin, 1999: 10–17). But the combination of the subtle gradation of colour, the complex layering of depth intervals, the presence of supernumerary figures in the background and the powerful emotional content are all first attested in surviving painting on the *stele* of Hediste, likely produced in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE (Schefold, 1967: 229; Pollitt, 1986: 4–5; Nakamura, 1995; Salowey, 2012: 251–255).

A Roman Art World?

More examples of such stylistic reference than I am able to present here could be adduced. Even so the fullness and varieties of reference of the fictive panels – to format, genre, and historical style – are striking. But what are we to make of them? Do they add up to a comprehensive totality, a kind of small-scale metaphor for the empire itself, as Bergmann (1995: 105–102) and Wyler (2006: 213–232) have argued? Under their reading the murals evince the quality of the encyclopaedia, a holistic, all-encompassing locus of collection and display devised as a testament of Roman triumphalism. Beyond the variety of formats, styles, and genres, the possibility that panel painting may have been understood as a Greek phenomenon, and accordingly that objects of collection at the Farnesina would have been

interpreted as foreign objects, may speak in favour of such an argument.

After Apollodoros of Athenai ‘opened the door’ (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.60–61), literary sources attribute all the major developments of Greek painting to panel painters. Of the eleven Roman painters listed by name in Plinius’ history of painting (*naturalis historia* xxxv.19–21, xxxv.23, xxxv.115–117, xxxv.120), seven are explicitly named as muralists, and only one as a panel painter. In other words, not only may the very concept of the panel painting have been coded as Greek, but that of the mural painting may have been understood as Roman or Italic. The comparatively higher esteem in which Roman writers held Greek art is well documented (Marvin, 2008: 10–15; De Angelis, 2008: 79–92), and Plinius’ assertion that *only* panel painters deserved glory (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.37), must have hinged not only on the suitability of panel painting for public display, as he explicitly says, but on a perceived division between the products of Greek and Roman culture (Leach, 2004: 1–10).

Not every kind of Greek panel painting is present at the Farnesina, of course, but the viewer might be forgiven for having that impression. In an essay in this volume, Richard Neudecker highlights the appropriate encyclopaedism of Roman sculptural collections, showing that the eclectic nature of many such collections was fundamentally linked to the re-interpretation of Greek modes of art production and consumption. Scholars have further identified a strongly imperial element in Plinius’ *naturalis historia* – an ancient encyclopaedia that did aim at totalising comprehensiveness (Murphy, 2004; Beagan, 2013: 84–107). Moreover, it has been shown that Plinius draws strong, positively inflected connections between the collection of Greek art in Roma and the narrative of Roman expansion: through conquest the material history of the world can be collected in Roma itself (Rouveret, 1987b: 115–133; Carey, 2003: 36–39, 75–101).

We cannot ignore this political dimension to the Farnesina frescoes, the possibility that they assemble and focus the history of Greek panel painting for essentially ideological purposes, as a super-erudite stage for the presentation of notional *spolia*, the representation of the art-historical results of Roman conquest. So Bergmann asserts (1995: 106): ‘Whoever owned art, whether in original or simulation, became synonymous with who owned the past’. This interpretation yields a close parallel between the private function of art and its public uses, as in the Forum Augustum, where architecture, architectural sculpture, newly produced statues and much older statues and paintings were all marshalled to communicate a unified message of Augustan triumph (Zanker, 1968; 1988; 1990).

Under this reading, in both public and private contexts, images re-stage history primarily to produce a naturalised view of the present.

But there is perhaps still more at play. Marshall McLuhan wrote that the content of any one medium is always another medium (1964: 8). Antiquity possessed a rudimentary verbalised concept of medium at best (Carlé, 2007: 31–59; Alloa, 2009: 247–262), but the tensions between levels of fiction and planes of representation in the Farnesina paintings attest to a complex understanding of the mediating object. What would be the content of the fictive, mural panel painting if not the ‘real’ independent panel painting? This sounds like a mere tautology, but it may take us closest to the most forceful question posed by the fictive picture galleries at the Farnesina – namely, what is being collected here, if not the idea of Greek panel painting (Hallett, 2005: 434)? In order to represent that idea the murals must make it physically manifest: a complete substitution must occur. The value of the panel, accordingly, must lie elsewhere than in its purely physical qualities. And though the complexities of each could be much more fully explored, here is the primary point of difference between the sacred economy of the Delian temple treasuries and what we might call the aesthetic economy of the Farnesina murals. The inventories are concerned above all else with recording the transactions between gods and mortals of which the votive offerings were physical testaments; it is natural that they should focus on those objects’ physical characteristics. The Farnesina ‘collector’, however, found him- or herself in possession of a collection in which the material of the objects was immaterial to their value for the collection.

The title of this essay suggests that, in contrast to the votive offerings of the Delian inventories, the painted panels of the Farnesina were conceived of as works of art. It remains a matter of debate whether or not antiquity possessed a special category of art in anything like the modern sense; a formal definition of such a category certainly does not appear in the extant literature (Kristeller, 1980: 163–174; Alsop, 1982: 17–21; Shiner, 2001: 19–27; Platt & Squire, 2010). But the murals of the Farnesina privilege the phenomenon of panel painting, staging it as an object of collection whose value was obviously visual, but also

disconnected from its material properties. To explore where that value lay is beyond the confines of this essay; we should recognise, however, that the fictive panels of the Roman mural remain, insistently and obviously, painted panels.

The collection of fictive panels at the Farnesina, accordingly, may be something more complex and daring than a statement of imperial intent, demonstrating instead a way of folding one tradition, Greek panel painting, into another, Roman wall painting, and of thereby collapsing their modes and temporalities of production. Although it is historically nuanced, the purpose of the fictive collection at the Farnesina may be less to own history than to participate in it anachronically. The history of Greek painting, stretching from 5th-century linearity to 3rd-century colourism and beyond, is encapsulated in the fictive panels of the Farnesina, but at the time of their execution the murals themselves were contemporary products. The assemblage of styles is on the one hand a statement of virtuosity, if not on the part of a single artist, such as the Seleukos whose signature and claim of authorship was scratched onto a painted column in *cubiculum* D (Bragantini and de Vos, 1982: 22–23, fig. 11.1), then certainly on the part of the larger workshop responsible for the villa’s painted decoration. Yet it is also a way of removing the painting styles of the past from the realm of history and of bringing them into dialogue with those of the present. In the fictive collection of the Farnesina, the passage of time, marked by changes in style, is highlighted so that it may be effaced.

Furthermore, as Bergmann (1995: 106–107) has asserted, none of the fictive panels can be identified as copies of known Greek masterworks. The idea of panel painting collected at the Farnesina was apparently not coterminous with any specific panel paintings. The substitution effected by the fictive, mural panel, accordingly, may have worked in both directions: both the history of panel painting and the contemporary mastery of that history could be objects of collection. The Greek panel is materialised on the Roman wall, but it remains a Greek panel. And Roman wall painting, with very few exceptions an anonymous craftsman tradition, enters into the same stream of history once occupied by Apelles.

Collecting Culture: Statues and Fragments in Roman Gardens

Richard Neudecker

Introduction

Seen from the point of view of our contemporary cultural activities, Roman collections of art and particularly those located in Roma itself give the impression of something familiar (Strong, 1973; Chevallier, 1991: 132–156; Bergmann, 1995; Bounia, 2004; Rutledge, 2012). In ancient times, they were a rather surprising phenomenon: for the first time, masterpieces of sculpture and painting were chosen deliberately for their art value and exhibited in public, and not as single works of art but in great numbers as ensembles, exactly as collections are. Their exhibition in public on such a scale distinguishes this phenomenon resolutely from acquisitions of individual works of art by Hellenistic rulers, even though the courts in Pergamon (Kuttner, chapter 4) and Alexandria (Calandra, 2011) may have strongly inspired Roman aristocrats of the late Republic. Indeed it was those aristocrats who arranged such collections, first in their own private sphere and at the same time in public spaces (Miles, 2008).

With the recent graphic reconstructions of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (Viscogliosi, 1996) – to cite one example – it is easy to put oneself in a public museum, perhaps a slightly old-fashioned one. And how easy it is to experience an accumulation of sculpture like the one in the Villa of the Papyri (see below) as a private museum is shown by the material reconstruction arranged by John Paul Getty in Malibu (Mattusch, 2005; Beard, 2009). On the other hand, objections to such an understanding of ancient art collections are equally easy to find. Sosius' building was a temple with regular cult activities, like every locus of public collections in Roma. Experiencing a museum visit in the way Cicero (*in Verrem* ii.4,126) describes a visit to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, the Temple of Felicitas and the Porticus Metelli – other temples rich in statues – at best may be compared with a tourist's visit to churches of art historical interest and their treasures, in Florence for example (Etienne, 2010; Gahtan, 2012). All works of art in temples are votives, first of all, and contemplating them as works of art is a temporary and personally restricted event. Excellent statues by the most famous sculptors were gathered in the private *sacellum* of Caius Heius in Messene in Cicero's days, and many a keen visitor came only to see them, but never was

it forgotten that it was a place of cult (Cicero, *in Verrem* ii.4,3–4; Zimmer, 1989). In the 2nd century CE Loukianos, in a satire with the title “The Lover of Lies”, constructs a virtual private museum of a small collection of high-ranking masterworks of sculpture in the *peristylum* of a house. One of those statues, a famous work of art by Demetrios of Alopeke, is venerated like any cult image of a helpful god and the marble's wonderful surface is covered with wax to fix all the votives of visitors (Loukianos, *Philopseudes* 18–19). This means ancient viewers were always able to understand and retrieve the religious context surrounding a work's creation.

We should best put to one side the modern, misleading notion of “art collections” for the Roman era, and rather look for motivations and cultural codes which led to such compilations of works of art at special places, as are called “collections”. The term, however, has to be preserved and without quotation marks – it is our definition, rather than our choice of words, that we shall have to adjust. Roman collections – and not only Roman ones – are not floating but always connected with places of a specific significance. The locus of works of art has an essential and causal influence on their perception; therefore we may speak of a topology of art – even if this again is part of a discourse in our current art world (Groys, 2003). In the following cases of the Roman world, topology is intended to explain how works of art carry something of their original contexts with them and bring it to view in new contexts. That something is at least as important as enjoyment of the aesthetic qualities of the single piece: it is a whole culture imagined, memorized and collected (Hölscher, 1987; Bravi, 2012). I shall analyse some variations of collecting culture and use widely known cases in order to avoid tiring introductions to sites.

Public Assemblages in Public Places

The best places to admire masterpieces of art in Roma were public sanctuaries, according to Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiv.37–93), who himself was a collector rather than a connoisseur – a collector not of art but of information on art (Ferri, 1946; Isager, 1991: 157–168; Carey, 2003: 99–101). He found a lot of information on the

Templum Pacis, the sanctuary of Pax, the goddess of Peace (Meneghini, 2009: 79–97), opened in 75 CE, financed *ex manubiis* (by booty from the Jewish War during the years 66–70 CE), and filled with Greek statues and paintings, all labelled with informative inscriptions – providing in this way a kind of a three-dimensional source book of Greek art history. Immediately after opening, Iosepos (*historia Ioudaikou polemou pros Rhomaious* vii.5,7) also marvelled at the sanctuary's architectural conception and the wealth of its decoration. It was “embellished” he reports “with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture: indeed – into that sanctuary were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world – πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην –, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries”. Greece had finally been brought to Roma and nobody had to travel round the world to see the wonders of art. Every visitor of the Templum who had travelled in Greece, or at a minimum to Attike, admiring works of art in the original scene, knew that this was not the case (Adams & Roy, 2007; Casson, 1974: 229–299; Elsner, 1994).

Walking under the *porticus*, visitors admired a flowering sacred garden with long flowerbeds full of Gallic roses and with water sparkling [fig. 12.1]. In the same moment they could admire works of art within the same *porticus*. The *porticus* was divided lengthwise by a barrier made of precious cipollino marble, which may be explained as a device to separate a lane for walking at the back from a safeguarded space nearer to the columns on which the statues were exhibited (Meneghini, Corsaro & Pinna Caboni, 2009; Bravi, 2010; Bravi, 2012: 167–181). In later times, when Hadrianus, too, celebrated a triumph over Iudaea, further sculptures were added on large bases in front of the temple, situated in the middle axis of the area. Some of the bases for Greek sculpture have been

preserved and from their inscriptions (La Rocca, 2001: 195–207), taken together with information written down by Plinius and in isolated notes, we can draw up a partial inventory and thus gain an impression of the collection's high rank. The bulk of the works was from the Classical period. The sculptors Praxiteles, Kephisodotos and Parthenokles are attested by their inscribed names on bases in Greek. Statues of athletes from the Classical period had arrived mostly from Olympia where their original bases were left behind. There, Pausanias (ix.1,20) in the 2nd century CE saw the statue base of the pentathlete Pythokles by Polykleitos which had been transferred into the Templum Pacis. One of the best bronze statues ever created by Naukydes, the statue of the athlete Khimon, still was to be admired in Olympia – tells Pausanias – but its duplicate at Argos, the athlete's home town, had likewise migrated into the Templum. By the hand of Leokhares, there was at least one sculpture, representing Zeus disguised as an eagle abducting Ganymedes, which served as a meeting point for homoerotic rendezvous (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.79; Iuvenalis, *saturarum libri* ix.22–26 and *scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora, ad loc.*), and by Myron's chisel a most famous cow (Prokopios, *hyper ton polemon logoi* [*peri ton gotthikon polemon*] iv.21). A statue of the personified River Nile from Egypt was much noticed due to the rare stone it was made of, the basanite (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.58). Paintings, too, were exhibited. According to Ptolemaios Hephaistion, a “Battle of Alexandros at Issos” was the work of the female painter Helena (in Photios, *bibliotheke*, cxlix.28–33) and a “Skylia” was painted by Nikomakhos (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxv.108). Further sculptures were transferred from Nero's Domus Aurea nearby in order to “make them public” again. Most of them, including works by Isigonos, Pyromakhos, Stratonikos and Antigonos, belonged to the

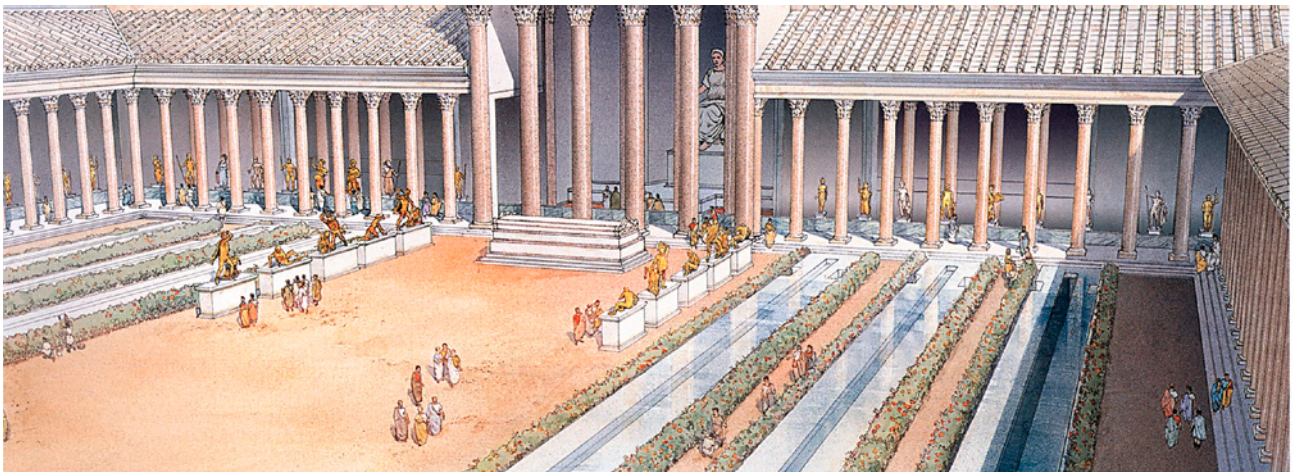


FIGURE 12.1 Reconstruction of Templum Pacis in Rome (DRAWING BY INKLINK FIRENZE WITH KIND PERMISSION).

extensive votive donations of rulers in Pergamon after victorious battles against the Gauls (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.84). As well as works of art, but not separate from them, various precious items from the booty of the Jewish War, such as the Menorah, were also exhibited (Iosepos, *historia Ioudaikou polemou pros Romaious* vii.5,7).

Templum Pacis presents its collection of art in a setting which called to mind the gardens of villas. Those were the loci where most pieces in our museum collections had once been located. But the Templum Pacis was no villa garden. Plinius laments that in Roma “official functions and business activities must, after all, deter anyone from serious study, since the appreciation involved needs leisure and deep silence in our surrounding” (Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxvi.27), and he continues with a report about a statue precisely in the Templum Pacis. It seems he has this sanctuary in mind.

Private Places: Villa of the Papyri

The original Greek context of masterpieces was easily remembered by most of the observers. It could be staged with few visual quotations and formal allusions as a virtual context when it came to arrange statues in Roman places. The re-installation of masterworks complete with context is my next point (Bergmann, 2001).

When Plinius travelled South to the Gulf of Naples where his headquarter as *praefectus classis* was situated, he may have visited one of the luxurious maritime villas shortly before it disappeared under 25 meters of hot ashes from Vesuvius in 79 CE, particularly the so-called Villa of the Papyri immediately outside the Western boundar-

ies of Herculaneum (Neudecker, 1988; Neudecker, 1998; Mattusch, 2005). The main building extended ca. 150 m. along the beach and rose in three levels uphill. A small sector around the *atrium* was excavated in recent years. But most of the villa was searched between 1750 and 1764 through underground tunnels excavated deep underneath the modern surface and documented by Karl Weber, a Swiss mining engineer. He furnished his communiqués – the earliest excavation reports in archaeology – with a detailed plan full with the exact find spots of the sculptures. Among the most important discoveries were the roughly 1,900 charred scrolls from the library that almost exclusively contained Greek literature and philosophy. Beyond that, more than 80 marble and bronze statues and busts were discovered, nearly all of them in the places where they had been displayed, so that the arrangements tell us something about general ideas and everyday perceptions, and the educational interests of the upper class in the 1st century BCE when the villa had been built and equipped.

In the great *peristylum* garden of the villa, Plinius would have found an ambience more convenient for admiring art than in a noisy public place at Roma. Its architecture is reminiscent of a Greek *gymnasium* or a sanctuary [fig. 12.2]. When the owner walked along the Northern wing of the *porticus* with his guests, they would come upon a row of five bronze statues, depicting young women, clad in archaic-looking *peplos*, and occupied with vessels and caskets in the way cult servants were (Moesch, 2009: 136–141). In Greek sanctuaries one could have seen similar votive statues of olden times, stored away or put on display within the *stoai*. There is not the least indication for supposing these statues would have stood at some other point of the villa and then been deposited here

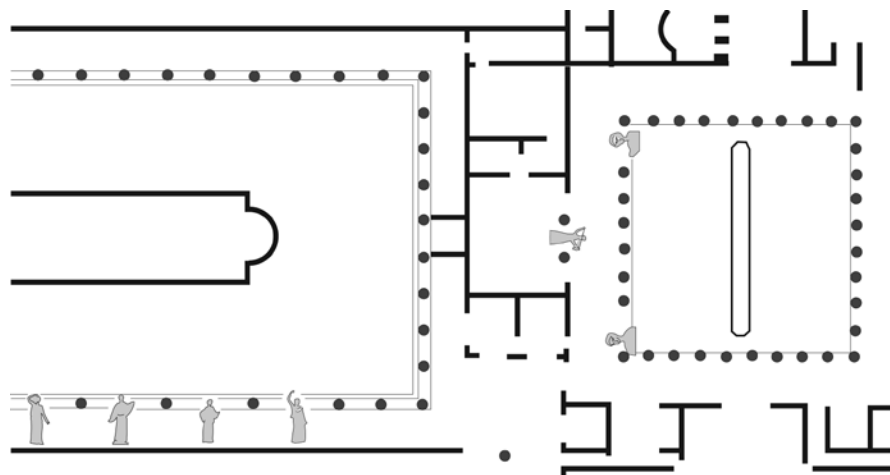


FIGURE 12.2 Villa of the Papyri, part of ground-plan with sculptures, Herculaneum (DRAWING BY M. SCHÜTZENBERGER, DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT ROM, WITH KIND PERMISSION).

momentarily. They stood at regular and equal distances, as if parked, but not in the least for temporary storage but rather because votive statues were set up and displayed in that way. These extraordinary bronze works emphasize the importance of the aesthetic qualities of surfaces for the evaluation of art. Eyes made from ivory and stone inlays as well as lips and fabric patterns applied in copper give an indication of how impressive the colours must once have been, and of the financial efforts to acquire them. Without doubt, they look costly but they surely are not masterpieces of famous sculptors. Their monotonous similarity makes them appear rather like extras from a set, placed there in order to evoke the image of a Greek sanctuary's *stoa* (Small, 2008).

Before having arrived at this point, every visitor had crossed a much smaller *peristylum* in the villa's imposing entrance area, which contained an assorted selection of bronze copies of heads on herm shafts (Moesch, 2009: 120–133; Lorenz, 1965: 10–11). They were arranged in a regular distribution beside the columns of the *porticus*. As a group, these busts represented a pictorial summary of all Hellenism and included portraits of outstanding figures in Greek scholarship, philosophy, and history as well as Polykleitos' *Doryphoros* and a classical *Amazon* possibly by the great Pheidias (Steuben, 1973). It was not easy to have a closer look at the *Doryphoros* head from inside the *porticus*: the herm stood behind a column and in front of a fountain. It was easier to view from the opposite wing of the *porticus*. From that direction the bronze head appeared necessarily smaller and against the white background of the column, behind the water feature of a fountain and framed by the small garden's green. However, the viewer is still offered only a part of the *opus nobile*. We are not shown the stance of the spear-bearer and his idealized body, which was the prime reason for the statue's fame in antiquity. Instead, one of the best works of Classical art in Greece is reduced to its head. Admittedly, this head is a work of the highest quality in itself, and the Greek bronze sculptor Apollonios from Athenai proudly announces this by his signature [fig. 12.3]. The opposite herm pillar was crowned by the head of an equally famous female statue of the Classical period, the *Amazon* by Pheidias. The two heads quote highlights of Greek art and presented any visitor with the owner's cultural self-image, offering an ersatz gallery of real art, much like a collection of the owner's favourite citations out of his scrolls might have. Should they have failed in this rather ambitious function, they at least served to put the visitor in the right mood for the rest of the house, where they may have been directed now.

At a prominent point in the middle of the West wing, the same colonnade opens up as though leading into a

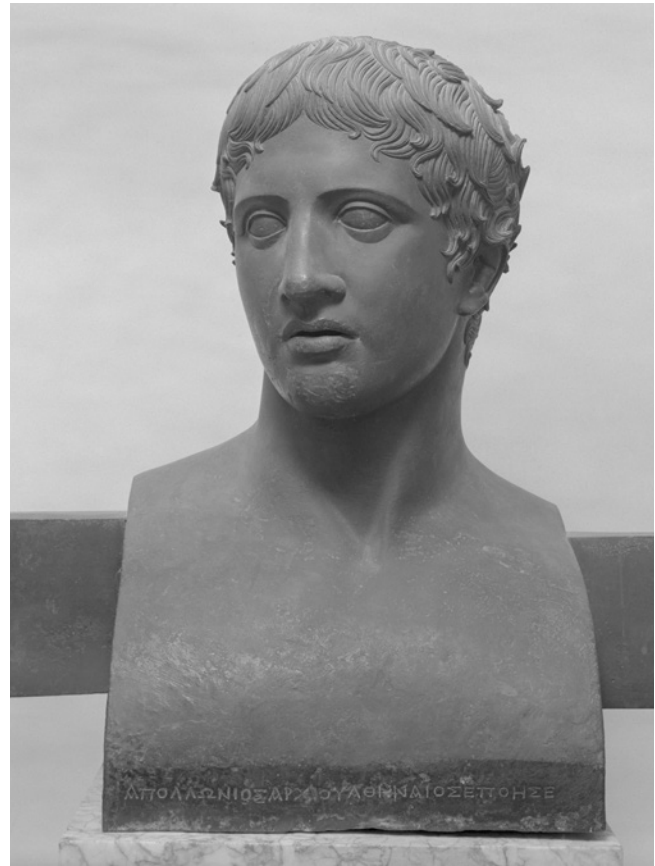


FIGURE 12.3 Herm-bust of *Doryphoros* from *Villa of the Papyri*, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli Inv. 4885 (PHOTO INST.NEG. 64.2186 WITH PERMISSION OF DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT ROM).

small temple, and houses a statue of *Athena* (Moesch, 2009: 108–109). The marble statue was gold plated and designed in an archaic style so that it must have glowed like a cult image in the semi-darkness of the room. Yet it too is only a Roman copy of a Greek original that stood on the Athenian Akropolis (Harrison, 1965: 73–75). For any educated visitor, who in their youth had spent at least one year of studies at Athenai, the copy referred to this most Greek of places. Nonetheless, this is about the *tablinum*, identical with the room that Brutus in one of his villas had dubbed “Parthenon” (Cicero, *ad Atticum* xiii.40). With or without a copy of the statue of *Athena Parthenos*, the sense of this quotation surely was clear to all visitors.

Sculptures in the villa supply quotations of Greek art in context. Complete copies of the original works, or identifiable parts of them, created compilations of the most famous, or the most favourite essentials of the fine arts sector in higher culture. In the *Villa of the Papyri* they come together with an architectural reference to their original Greek context – which is always a sacred one. This model of presentation is not intended to introduce

the beholder to an absolute work of art, but to re-install a Greek ambience that leads towards elevated culture and social distinction. The complexity of the Villa of the Papyri is a warning against the desire to examine the meaning of individual works of art without knowledge about their original context and specific setting in architecture.

Imperial Places: Villa Hadriana

One hundred and fifty years later, the guests of Emperor Hadrianus in his villa at Tivoli received a similar message from Classical Athenai but coded in a different way. Beginning with the years of the first accumulations of sculptures like the one in the late Republican Villa of the Papyri, a canon of masterpieces had been developing which could introduce the semantics of their origin to contemporary surroundings even without the help of faithful sceneries. The following paragraph discusses ensembles of works of art in new contexts.

The extensive villa at Tivoli was constructed and filled with sculpture between 118 and 136 CE (Reggiani, 2002). In fact no other Roman villa has yielded so much sculpture. Nearly 500 years of excavations have brought to light at least 170, probably up to 340 marble statues (Raeder, 1983). The circumstances of those disinterments were such as not to allow much knowledge of the actual display arrangements with the exception of one very informative spot, the so called *canopus*, excavated in the fifties of the last century, which will be our case in point. Among the original toponyms given to separate areas of the villa, according to written sources, such as *academia* or *stoa poi-*

kile, is a conspicuous *canopus* which Hadrianus is said to have installed in memory of his journey in Egypt. Just like the River Nile was used as a name for popular ponds and rivulets in smaller villa gardens, the Kanobos, a popular and well-frequented canal near Alexandria, also denoted a *deversorium vitiorum*, a pleasure resort animated by boisterous parties in boats and under pergolas.

Hadrianus' Kanobos has long been identified in an imaginative structure [fig. 12.4]: a striking water basin about 120 m long and 20 m wide (Aurigemma, 1961: 100–133). On one end a crocodile in dark marble greeted arriving guests on their way to banquets in the semicircle of an adjoining *nymphaeum* on the other, South end, serving as *stibadium* – an open air dining place with refined illuminations, the acoustic charms of the waterworks and a stimulating prospect. But sculptures that surrounded the basin at the far North end were hardly visible in detail from that dining-place, and merged into a featureless line. They became more clearly visible only when the beholder was walking along the basin under the *porticus* or pergola. In doing so, they would have encountered an ensemble of figures supporting the architrave of the *porticus* – half-way on the West side – and been reminded of Athenai. This ensemble is a striking assemblage made up of copies of the *korai* from the Erekhtheion in Athenai and statues of *sileno*i, all once supporting an architrave. At the Erekhtheion on the Akropolis of Athenai six statues of young women underpin the roof of an airy structure like columns (Lauter, 1976). The building itself and the statues are dated about 415 BCE, and the sculptor is said to have been Alkamenes, a pupil of Pheidias. They were visible only on their front side. The two in the middle of the front,

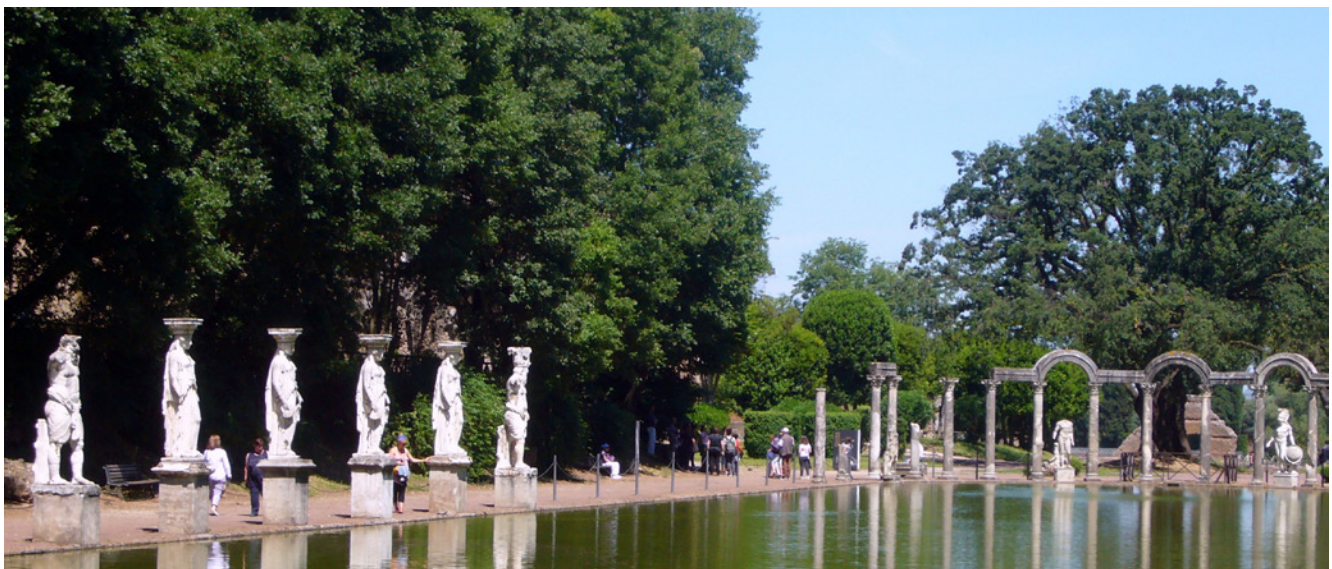


FIGURE 12.4 Villa of Hadrianus, *Canopus from North, Tivoli* (AUTHOR'S PHOTO).

named C and D by archaeologists, are copied each twice in order to get four *korai* corresponding to the number on the porch of the Erekhtheion. The *korai* on the sides of the loggia were cancelled. They were not necessary, because in Tivoli we do not have a hall but a long *porticus*. This sequence of four Erekhtheion *korai* is framed by two statues of *silenoi*, identical mirror-images of each other. They resemble *silenoi* from the Theatre of Dionysos at the foot of the Akropolis. There, however, they supported not a *porticus* but the front of the stage (Travlos, 1971: 551).

Well-known sculptures from a famous site – the Athenian Akropolis in this case – were used to create a topos in the villa that no longer had anything to do with the conditions of the original setup. Instead, they quote or call to mind one of the noblest architectural settings in Athenai without caring too much about authenticity: multiplying two out of the original set of six was sufficient. The *korai* provided the space with an aura of sacredness – one may object that it was a dining area. But exactly this was intended, to elevate the dinner atmosphere by recalling the Akropolis. Elevated dinner-parties required sophisticated stimuli for intellectual pleasures, and whoever pondered convenient topics and their correct use, could resort to the “Table Talks” (*symposiaka problemata*) of Ploutarkhos, who promises “to produce a collection of topics of conversations” – and would find questions concerning “looking at art” (v.1,674a) next to problems like “why women do not eat the heart of lettuce” (iv.10,672c).

The edge of the semicircular North end of the pool is skirted by a delicate architecture of arches and architraves supported by a row of columns framing further marble statues. These statues also copy masterpieces of the Classical period such as Ares, Hermes, Athena and two Amazons (Ridgway, 1974; Weber, 1976; Bol, 1998). One of the Amazons reproduces the so-called type Mattei which means we have the body of Pheidias’ Amazon whose head we have seen in bronze in the Villa of the Papyri. The other one corresponds to the Sciarra type and is identified as the Amazon of Polykleitos or that of Kresilas. Now, we should expect two more of them, for in that case all four would present not only masterworks of the Classical period but illustrate a well-known story as Plinius (*naturalis historia* xxxiv.53) tells it: once for the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesos a statue of an Amazon was wanted and a call for tenders was put out. Phidias, Polykleitos, Kresilas and Phradmon participated in the competition and, after submission of their models, had to vote for the second best – knowing that each competitor would vote for his own as the best one. The winner was Polykleitos. It may have been this anecdote that was called to mind here. Obviously, in reality all four were winners. The origi-

nal “Amazons” stood in a Greek sanctuary, the Artemision of Ephesos, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. We do not know how they were exhibited there, but surely not in a marbled frame of columns and arches like this one here, and neither in such a distracting context as a *canopus* in the festive sector of villa life and in company of an Egyptian crocodile. Although this end of the pool was marked by highlights of classical sculpture, these same statues formed a half-circle around a quite different Hellenistic group in the water, for there out of the water rose the wild group of Skylla as if this were the Straits of Sicily. From the far end to the South, under the half-dome where people dined in the evening with candle- or torchlight, the Greek statues could not have aroused much interest since they could not be seen very clearly. But the interest of those who walked earlier along the *canopus* under the *porticus* in the afternoon might have been piqued. However, to such observers, the statues, which face the pool, would have exposed their unsightly backs. They could have studied them like archaeologists do with casts of the *korai* in a museum, knowing that the originals could never be observed from the back. The eye of a good observer may instead have been focused on the distant side of the pool. Walking slowly, they would perceive the statues on the other side of the water passing by. Their view was interrupted by the columns which framed separate windows in a regular sequence. This installation keeps the beholder at a measured distance, and in the same moment widens his angle of vision, offering not single statues, but an ensemble – a moving picture of a collection (Calandra, 1996; Slavazzi, 2002).

The statues are not individual masterpieces within a collection, but constituents of the picture of a collection in general, which is presented in a luxurious showroom and embedded in a cultural landscape of classical art. This exposition of sculpture furnished the visual and intellectual background for high-ranking social events like the emperor’s official banquets.

A Pompeian Context: The House of the Gilded Cupids

In the previously mentioned large peristyle garden of the Villa of the Papyri, several bronze heads and busts were exhibited on herm shafts under the open sky. They all are copies of heads of masterpieces which, based on their quality and the amount of other surviving copies, must have been highly valued. Amongst them one comes across a bust that seems to be a true fragment. It is called the *Kouros Pisoni*, a male head in bronze, representing

presumably Apollon (Mattusch, 2005: 236–242). Its artfully twisted curls imitate the archaic style. The lower edge of the bust is broken in a rather irregular line. An explanation for this unusual fact could be that the head was broken off by force from a complete statue. But this would not explain why the head was not repaired but exhibited in that damaged condition – if not for the reason that it was intended to be considered an old collector's item. In fact, Carroll Mattusch found out that the bronze had been cast with a fractured rim and therefore is an intentionally created sculpture fragment.

The places which have been described are reminiscent of Greek sacred places as places of an imaginary memory of Golden Age (*aurea aetas*). In order to retrieve them at least temporarily in Roman contexts, relics were fetched from Greek sacred landmarks and deliberately presented as fragments of a distant culture (Vorster, 1999). Interestingly, the desire for such furnishings of the private world of the highest level of villa owners trickled down to the middle class owners of modest houses in the towns. Even in a Pompeian house, a visitor came upon sculpture in a deliberately fragmented condition like the *Kouros Pisoni*.

The House of the Gilded Cupids (Seiler, 1992; Seiler, 1994; Hackworth Petersen, 2012) was badly damaged by the earthquake in 62 CE and presents itself to the modern visitor in the finishing phase of restoration works in August of 79 CE. It is not a large house but one with high standards as far as decoration is concerned. The garden *peristylum* of the so-called Rhodian type is reminiscent of a sanctuary with a temple facade above a flight of stairs on the far side for who entered. Behind it lies a still-unfinished hall that was to have become the main dining room. The whole garden area evokes a sanctuary, with reliefs placed on top of pillars like votive plaques. Until 1978, when for safety reasons all movable objects were transferred to museum depots, 50 sculptures of marble had been exhibited including several pieces which are of significantly earlier date.

Within the *porticus* the owner distributed and mounted rare objects and pieces of special interest. Entering from the East, the visitor sees two irregular slabs of mirror-like obsidian (Seiler, 1994: figs. 87–89). They are set into the wall and bordered with diamond-shaped lines. Proceeding in the Southern wing of the *porticus* he discovers quite a number of marble reliefs in a mostly fragmentary state. Some of them show theatre paraphernalia such as masks lying on rocky ground, and one may suspect the owner of having a special interest in theatre productions. A fragmentary relief with a comic mask, another with a tragic mask and a third one with three masks are set into the wall

in a rather unsystematic arrangement as if ruled by chance (Seiler, 1994: figs. 102, 103, 106, 114–115). All are framed by painted lines, which in the case of the rather irregularly broken tragic mask is trapezoid. Another one is complete but was broken – maybe during the recent earthquake – and pieced together to be inserted on the wall with a real frame (Seiler, 1994: figs. 109–112). The frame overlaps part of the dividing lines of the wall painting as if it had slipped to the side. The relief deliberately does not form an integrated part of the painted decoration. Also its reverse, now hidden in the wall, is decorated in relief – but unfortunately not visible. Obviously, during its first, original use the slab had been mounted on top of a free-standing pillar. It was a customary way of mounting votives in Greek sanctuaries, and was in fact even imitated in the garden of this house. Thus, its owner was much more interested in the Dionysian atmosphere of Greek rural cult places and not so much in the sophisticated world of the Roman theatre. Another relief from early Augustan times showing an old *satyros* with a *thyrsos* had already been badly broken when the remaining parts were recomposed and

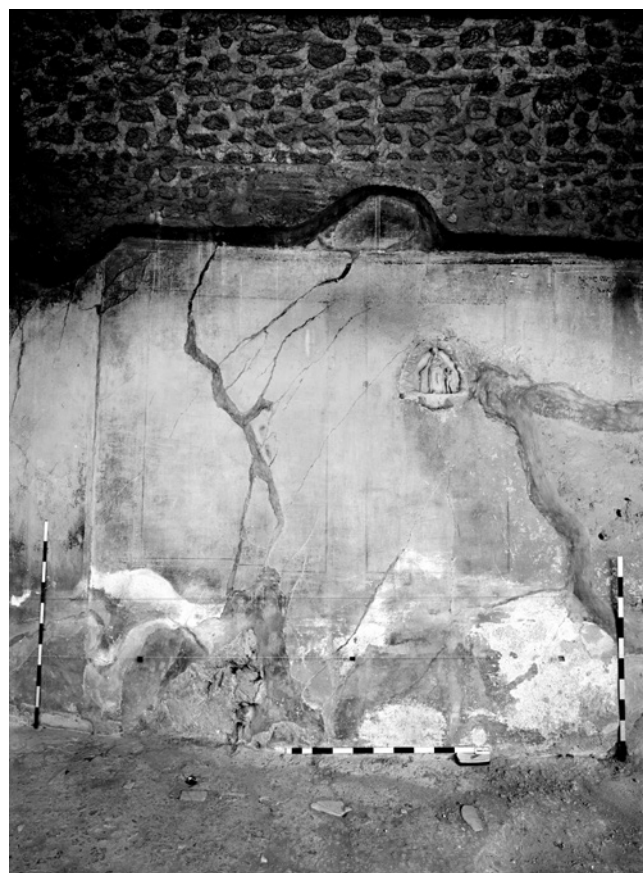


FIGURE 12.5 Votive relief of Aphrodite in the House of the Gilded Cupids, Pompeii (PHOTO B 77.2113 BY AND WITH PERMISSION OF DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT BERLIN).

fixed on the wall (Seiler, 1994: figs. 107–108). These are not fragments of high-ranking works of art, but are at least of good quality. Of lower quality is a relief that is not much damaged, only a little corroded, but absolutely out of its original context (Seiler, 1994: figs. 104–105) [fig. 12.5]. It is a small votive relief to Aphrodite which had once been fixed with a cone on the lower edge onto a pillar, or more likely on a rocky surface of a Greek sacred grotto in Hellenistic times (Goette, Hallof & Schörner, 2004). In fact, the small relief dates from the early Hellenistic period.

There is no doubt that the owner of the house and the garden created an image of a Greek sacred place, where all these kinds of reliefs – and surely even damaged ones preserved from older times – were to be seen (Krasser, 2010). The hanging, within a frame on the wall of a *porticus*, seems museum-like, but the fragment as such evoked an image of rock sanctuaries like those underneath the Akropolis dedicated to Eros and Aphrodite (Travlos, 1971: 228–232) and in this way reinforced at the same time the sacred aura of the Pompeian garden. The owner of the house looked for original reliefs and would not be disappointed when his art dealer from Greece sold him just fragments. On the contrary, he accentuated the fragmentary condition with the contour of the painted frames. He

put them on show in the *porticus* as if they had accumulated there as votives over time. That is why they are not placed in the centre of the painted fields but are instead offset, lacking any connection with the wall painting's system. The result was a collection of fragments of Greek sacred culture.

Conclusion

All these number of statues and reliefs in the end formed art collections as we would define them today. However, they were not compiled with individually perceived masterworks of art or with a concept of bringing into view chapters of art history. Owned by rich and educated members from the higher social strata, they rather satisfied a desire to build up and to confirm one's cultural identity by evoking the fine arts in general. By relocating statues in context, or by creating typical pictures of crowded villa landscapes, or by exhibiting ancient fragments of Greek sculpture, the owners of the villas collected items of culture. These collected items helped him to build up his own private world full of sacrality, beauty and Greekness.

The Opportunistic Collector: Sources of Statuary Décor and the Nature of Late Antique Collecting

Lea Stirling

In Late Antiquity, wealthy home-owners continued to exhibit their wealth, power, and culture through displays of works of art in their homes and rural estates. While mosaics and fountains were clearly purpose-built for the spaces in which they were placed, collections of statuary in these homes usually comprise works of art of varying subjects, materials, sizes, and dates. Such variety implies that the statues did not all come from the same source, and further suggests that not all the statuary was originally destined for that particular home. We may well ask, then, where the learned collectors of Late Antiquity acquired their statuary collections for private and public settings. It is also worth asking how the nature of “collecting” and museum-like displays had changed since the acquisition heyday of the late Republic and the early empire.

There were several possible ways to acquire statuary for Late Antique villas and houses. Starting with the most important source, these are: retaining existing pieces (heirlooms, in the case of villas), acquiring used statuary from other private contexts, acquiring public statuary that was no longer in use, and purchase of freshly carved contemporary statues. Some of these categories are easier than others to distinguish in the archaeological record, but for any individual situation, there is a series of factors to consider. Moreover, processes of reuse or recycling at a villa site affect the survival of statuary, and influence our ability to read the assemblage (Munro, 2012). Textual evidence provides some insights.

Heirloom Statuary

Existing statuary that already belonged to the patron's family was probably the major source of sculpture for most Late Antique collections. Many, indeed most, Late Antique villas had earlier phases dating back to the 1st or 2nd centuries. Statuary accumulated in these early phases. Moments of renovation, such as adding a bath suite or fountain could be opportunities for adding new statuary. At a long-lived, multi-phase villa, heirloom statuary is usually the easiest way to explain old statuary in the Late Antique phases.

The Villa of Estación at Antequera in Spain was first built in the 1st century CE, with later renovations, including new mosaics and elaborate baths with a trefoil layout in the early 4th century (Romero, Mañas & Bargas, 2006). Several fragments of statues were found in destruction debris in the large pool of the *peristylum* (Rodríguez Oliva, 2010: 61–790; Romaro, Mañas & Bargas, 2006: 251–254; Ayuntamiento de Antequera, 2006). They range in date from the 1st to the 4th century. With the long lifespan of this villa, it is most reasonable to assume that the statuary assemblage grew over time. Two fragments of two high-quality statuettes of *satyroi* from the 1st century CE probably decorated the original villa. A bust of *Nero Drusus* was a chance find at the site in 1948; it too presumably belongs to the villa's earliest phase. Two stone theatre masks found in the *peristylum* date to the 2nd century. Several statues that can broadly be associated with water features date to the later 2nd or 3rd century and perhaps were brought in to adorn new fountains: a *Hippopotamus*, an *Eros on a dolphin*, and a *Sleeping Eros/Somnus*. The first two are pierced for water pipes. The third type, the sleeping figure, is often associated with fountains in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. When an owner of the early 4th century added rooms of curved Late Antique design and new mosaic pavements, this accreted body of statuary probably already existed in the villa and could be reused. The head of a female statuette wearing a simple hairstyle and ribbon (perhaps *Venus*) has been dated to the 2nd century based on comparison to Antonine princesses, ideal features and hairstyle with a fillet) and its technical treatment, including a drilled iris [fig. 13.1] (Rodríguez Oliva, 2010: 68–70). However, the features of this statuette fit extremely well with the characteristics of a series of mythological statuettes made in Asia Minor in the late 4th and early 5th centuries (Stirling, 2005: 95–109). In particular, the soft hooded eyes, the faintly arched brows, and the rendering of the hair, with flattened locks and a curl in front of the ear, resemble mythological works of the Theodosian era. At long-lived villas such as Estación, organic growth of the collection over generations seems the most likely source for the Late Antique collection.



FIGURE 13.1 Small female head found at the villa of Estación, Antequera, Málaga. Height: 0.17 m. Museo de la Ciudad de Antequera, inv. ve.01.E-2.-71. (PHOTO COURTESY OF THE MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD DE ANTEQUERA).

Over the course of generations, statuary in long-lived collections could be repaired, moved, or altered for new circumstances. A villa at Somma Vesuviana constructed in the early 2nd century CE was eventually filled with lapilli sometime in the 5th century (thus presumably as a result of an eruption of Vesuvius documented in 472 CE). Two life-sized marble statues were found in the villa, a *Woman in a peplos* still standing in a niche, and a *Dionysos* apparently fallen from another niche and shattered on the floor (De Simone, 2010; Aoyagi & Sengoku-Haga, 2010). Carved in Hadrianic times, these statues stayed in use down to the time of the villa's destruction, remaining in their niches even after the villa's space had been re-occupied with productive functions. Numerous metal dowels on the *Dionysos* attest ancient repairs. Drillings on the head and the back of the left shoulder of the female statue suggested that she was reconfigured as an Artemis at a later time, through the addition of a diadem and quiver (Aoyagi & Sengoku-Haga, 2010: 250). Artemis was an extremely popular decorative subject in Late Antique villas (Stirling, 2005: 89–90).

In certain instances, heirloom assemblages stand out for their coherence, which was evidently retained by their Late Antique owners. A villa at Fianello Sabino in Italy possessed at least fifteen late Hellenistic statues imported from Greece. These remained in the villa right up to the time of its conversion into a church in the early 5th century, when they were broken up into rubble for the new foundations (Vorster, 1998; Stirling, 2005: 174).

At Ptolemaïs in Cyrenaica, the Hellenistic Palace of the Columns was used into Late Antique times (Pesce, 1950: 107–108). In addition to 65 fragments of white marble statuary found in the baths and elsewhere in the building, there were fragments belonging to some 30 Egyptian statuettes carved from grey stone, mostly of the Late Period (ca. 700 BCE to 100 CE, D'Este, 1997). These were found in the upper fills of the central pool (D'Este, 1997). The oldest piece was a statue of a scribe named Amenmose dating back to the 19th Dynasty (ca. 1292 to 1187 BCE), a piece that stands out from the others for its very old date (D'Este, 1997: 86–89). One Ptolemaic statuette of a *Striding male figure* [fig. 13.2] that is much better preserved than the others was found in a *dolium* in a sector that was constructed in the 4th century CE or later (room θ, Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemaïs, Cyrenaica) during campaigns of 1939–1940 (lost in 1941, it passed to the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1991 by private donation [D'Este 1996, 103]). The excavator Gennaro Pesce proposes that it had been hidden from Christians (Pesce, 1950: 80 no. 50, 108; D'Este, 1997: 103–104 no. 32). The collection of Egyptian statues – and surely we can call it a collection – must have been assembled in Ptolemaic times, when the palace was first constructed. However, it is clear from the find spot of most of the fragments in very high layers that the successive owners curated this collection down the centuries, right to the abandonment of the building. Single finds of Egyptian statuettes at Apollonia (Libya), Ephesos, and Sardis must also reflect collector interest, albeit on a much smaller scale, and may be precious souvenirs of travel. Two of these finds were found in houses: a bronze statuette of a priest in a room identified as a library in Terrace House 2 at Ephesos (destroyed in the later 3rd century), and the feet of a stone statuette from the early Byzantine House of Bronzes at Sardis (Flessa, 2010: 670–676, pl. 239, 494; Hanfmann & Ramage, 1978: 113, no. 131, fig. 263). An Amarna-style head in the archaeological museum at Apollonia in Libya surely originated in a personal collection (McAleer, 1978: 57–58 no. 44, pl. 21.1–2).



FIGURE 13.2 Striding male figure, 200–100 BC or later. Egypt, Greco-Roman Period, Ptolemaic Dynasty. Black basalt. 57.9 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Seventy-fifth anniversary gift of Lawrence A. Fleischman in honor of Arielle P. Kozloff 1991.26. (PHOTO © THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM, BY PERMISSION).

Second-Hand Statuary

Late Antique collectors must also have purchased antique statuary from other patrons or dealers, perhaps the situation in Late Antique Ostia where several repaired pieces are noticeable in domestic collections (Hannestad, 1994: 103). In a Late Antique collection, it is hard to distinguish archaeologically between purchased antiques and family heirlooms. Nonetheless, some indicators can suggest that the patron purchased antiques rather than inherited them. In particular, some villas and houses were freshly built in Late Antiquity and did not have earlier phases.

For instance, a suburban villa at Mediana near the city of Naissus was built in the early 4th century and occu-

pied for about a century. A cache of about a dozen statues and statuettes represents the statuary décor of the villa, and most of them predate the villa's construction (Petrović, 1994: 59–69, 82–86; Stirling, 2005: 195–196; Vasić & Gavrilović, 2012: 137–149). Of these, three were a little under life sized: a nude *Male torso*, a *Satyros head*, and a recently discovered head of a woman in a topknot, possibly *Venus*. Excavators propose an early 4th-century date for the Venus head. The rest were statuettes ranging up to about 0.70 m tall (reconstructed). Two statuettes with votive inscriptions by one Rhoimetalkes stand out for their red porphyry and probably belong to the early 4th century on prosopographical grounds. The other statues and statuettes are carved from different, nonlocal white marbles and have varied techniques of carving. The group includes several statuettes of *Asklepios* and *Hygieia*, a copy of the so-called *Aspasia* statue type, and a copy of a Hellenistic genre type (the *lanternarius*) as well as a syncretistic *Thracian goddess*. Thus, a few statues are roughly contemporary with the construction of the villa, but most are earlier and they vary considerably in style and subject matter. Such variation suggests they were assembled from a variety of sources, perhaps an art market broadly writ. The range of marbles, including the red porphyry from Egypt, could suggest that these statues were acquired during the owner's travels for personal or imperial business.

How could a market for second-hand statuary work? Sources from the 1st centuries BCE and CE refer to sellers of antiquities, works of art, and other luxury goods in Roma at the *Saepta Iulia*, a complex that remained in use into the 4th century CE, though its function may have changed (Holleran, 2012: 249–251). Luxury goods including silks and gems were sold in front of the Capitolium in the 5th century (Apollinaris Sidonius, *epistulae* i.7,8; Holleran, 2012: 251). Early sources mention auctions in the city of Roma for antiquities, mainly Greek works of art (Holleran, 2012: 252–255). I am not aware of later references to auctioned works of art. However, earlier works of art clearly did become available in some fashion, as seen from the existence of recarved portraits. Marina Prusac's catalogue of recarved portraits includes several 4th-century portraits recarved from pieces of the 1st or 2nd centuries (for instance, Prusac, 2011: 153 nos. 409, 412, 413, 424). Repair and alteration is visible on some statues (Vorster, 2012/2013: 473–477). Perhaps in addition to carving, recarving, and repairing statuary, sculptors also resold antique statuary. The sculptors' workshop at Aphrodisias contained pieces with dates ranging over two centuries (Van Voorhis, 2012: 51–53). The older pieces are usually interpreted as models or old stock, but the sculptors may also have dealt in used statuary. A warehouse from an art dealer or middleman

would be hard to recognize archaeologically, though Anna Leone (2013: 240) suggests that a deposit of inscriptions and statues at Verecunda near Lambaesis may have been a depot for trade in used marbles.

Statuary From Public Locations

The third possible source for decoration in Late Antique villas is statues relocated from public locations. There is abundant archaeological evidence that statues in public places were moved around, recarved, and relabelled in Late Antiquity, as seen in studies of Roma, North Africa, and Aphrodisias (Witschel, 2007; Leone, 2013: 121–188; Smith, 2007). Some inscribed bases refer to statues being transferred to a new location, often in a bath or *forum* (Curran, 1994). In other cases, poor fit or recutting to make something fit suggest that an uninscribed statue was originally intended for a different location. The clearest evidence for statuary relocation concerns public spaces, but it is surely possible that in some cases statuary from public places came into private hands. Powerful people may simply have taken objects from unused buildings. However, state auctions of public buildings (and presumably their contents) could occur. In 378 CE, the emperors Valens, Gratianus, and Valentinianus ruled that unused and derelict public buildings that could not be turned to a new purpose should be sold at auction or converted into residences for the provincial governor (*codex Theodosianus*

x.2,1; Pharr, 1952: 269). Arcadius and Honorius made a similar ruling in 398 (*codex Theodosianus* x.20,2; Pharr, 1952: 269). Both laws were addressed to the Count of the Sacred Largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), indicating that the problem was viewed as a financial one.

In the Gallic provinces specifically, one possible source of antique statuary may have been public baths. Many bath buildings there went out of use permanently during the 3rd century (Bouet, 2003: vol. 1, 333–345; Esmonde-Cleary, 2013: 115–117). The 4th century brought modest renewal of bathing infrastructure. Arles and Trier, both imperial seats at times in the 4th century, did receive new large-scale establishments during this era, but most contemporary Gallic cities had only small bath buildings by this time. Interestingly, very little statuary survives from public baths of any era in Gallia: Hubertus Manderscheid's sweeping study of statuary décor in Roman baths includes only four sites from the Gallic provinces: Trier, Aix-les-Bains, Vienne and Glanum (Manderscheid, 1981: 68–71). Of course, there could be many possible explanations for the relative absence of statuary in baths in the region (including a paucity of statuary decoration in the first place), but derelict public buildings do seem like a possible source of antique statuary for Late Antique villas. Such an origin might specifically account for occasional incongruous pieces found at villas, such as a *Heroic torso* at Saint-Georges-de-Montagne [fig. 13.3], over-life-sized heads and hands at La-Garenne-de-Nérac, or an over-life-sized bronze toe from Séviac (all now lost, Stirling, 2005:

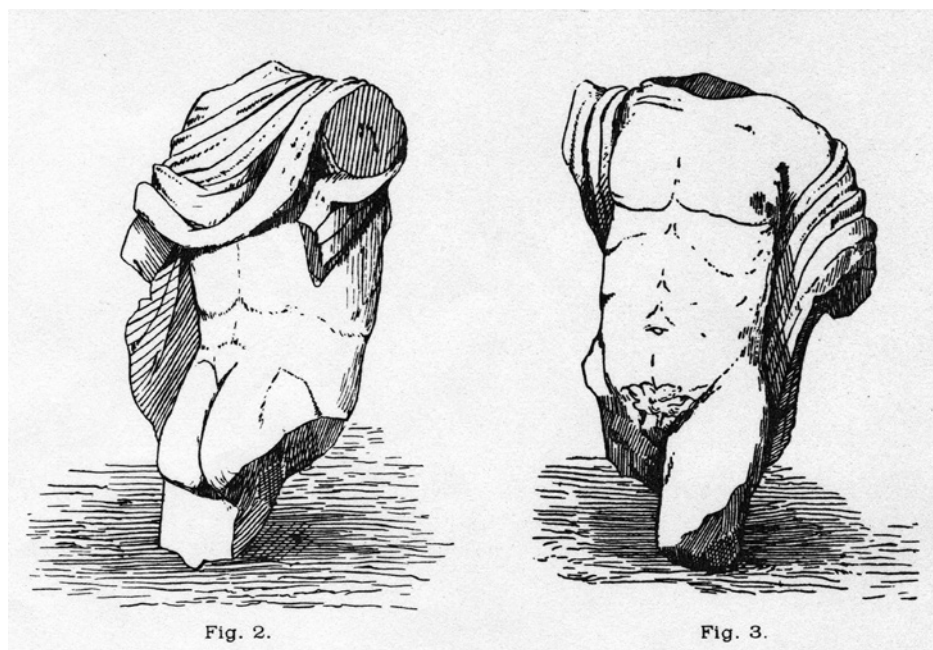


FIGURE 13.3 Overlife-sized male torso found at the villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in 1843 and lost by 1904, two views (Amtmann 1904, pl. 3, figs. 13.2–13.3). Height: 1.70 m.

66, 69; Amtmann, 1904: 74). Smaller-scale statues used in bath buildings, including statuettes, would not stand out as much if they were reused in villas.

In the African city of Cherchell, portraits of the 1st-century CE Mauretanian King Juba appear in three houses (Stirling, 2005: 187–188; Leveau, 1982: 162–163). Though the houses are not closely datable, they do have architectural features that correspond with Late Antique occupation. These portraits were clearly antiques in Late Antiquity, and surely originated in a public place. Domestic statuary assemblages at Cherchell further stand out because they contain a greater proportion of life-sized statues than is observed at most Late Antique domestic sites. A public source is plausible; it should also be noted that there is also good evidence from Cherchell concerning statuary moved around in public places. A lot of statuary was moved into the West baths from other locations, presumably in Late Antiquity (Stirling, 2012: 68–69, 73–75). Four statue bases there refer to statuary being moved, and some statues predate the bath building. Perhaps homeowners in Cherchell also profited at a time when statuary was “decommissioned” from unspecified other public places. At the villa of Milreu in Portugal, a cluster of imperial portraits carved in workshops in the city of Roma stand out for their exceptional quality and subject matter (Gonçalves, 2007: 88–90 no. 9, 100–107 nos. 16–17; 2010: 415).

Contemporary (Late Antique) Statuary

The fourth possible source for Late Antique collectors is purchase of newly made items. These are archaeologically visible because the works of art date to Late Antiquity. Late Antique portraits are comparatively rare in villas or houses, and tend to be associated with other markers of extremely high statues, such as *opus sectile* floors. At a villa at Castelculier in Southern France, two Late Antique portraits found near the monumental entrance (Stéphanus, 2009: 276 n. 26 and illustrations on cover) were part of an assemblage that also included a portrait of Marcus Aurelius and two heirloom portraits (Stirling, 2005: 67–69). The dazzling bath buildings at the villa included a dome decorated with polychrome mosaic, a feature unique in the region (Stéphanus, 2009: 274–275).

Some Late Antique collectors purchased new mythological statuary (Gazda, 1982; Hannestad, 1994: 105–144; Bergmann, 1999; Stirling, 2005: 91–137; Vorster, 2012/2013). Mythological statuettes with stylistic affinities to well-dated works of the Theodosian period appear in villas and houses around the Roman Empire. In many instances, only

a single find survives, such as a recently published small *Female head wearing a wreath of flowers* found in the bath building of a Late Antique villa at Andilly-en-Bassigny (Haute Marne), North of Dijon (Serrano & Groetembriil, 2011: 34–39). On this head, the ridged, arched brows and classicizing though somewhat flaccid facial features correspond to a Late Antique date, similar to the classicizing head from Estación discussed above [fig. 13.1]. A few villas have yielded larger sets of statuettes or statues. At Valdetorres de Jarama in Spain, a group of half life-sized statues carved from grey marble included a snaky-legged *Giant*, [fig. 13.4] a *Niobid* on horseback, two *Archers* and a *Satyros with a wineskin* (Puerta, Elvira & Artigas, 1994: 181–189). Perhaps the two *Archers* were shown fighting the *Niobid* and the *Giant*. These sculptures, particularly the giant with its knobbly ribs, show affinities to work from Aphrodisias, and Marianne Bergmann (1999: 20–21) and others have dated them to the 4th century. Other statuary at the site included a statue of an *African* and several statuettes in white marble. These statues too show links to Aphrodisias. Other villas with large commissions of contemporary statues, all with characteristics of Eastern



FIGURE 13.4 Statue of a giant found at the villa of Valdetorres de Jarama. Height: 0.61 m. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, inv. 1977/2/1. (PHOTO COURTESY MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL, MADRID).

workshops, include Chiragan (Gallia, Bergmann, 1999: 26–43), Quinta das Longas (Portugal, Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho & Almeida, 2004), and Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (Gallia, Stirling, 2005: 30–37).

The villa of Chiragan, one of the largest sculptural assemblages anywhere in the Roman world, merits a longer look (Cazes, 1999: 74–147). The villa was first constructed sometime in the 1st century, and had several phases of renovation, including lavish habitation in the 4th and 5th centuries (Balmelle, 2001: 112, 114, 370; Stirling, 2005: 49–62). Most of the statues were found in large pits of burned debris dug over the villa after its abandonment. More than a hundred sculptures are currently extant from the site, but early reports make it clear this was only a minimum, and most scholars estimate a figure around two hundred. The statues included a suite of thirty imperial busts, with some emperors represented in multiples (Balty & Cazes, 2005; 2008; Balty, Cazes & Rosso, 2012). There is a cluster of four tetrarchic portraits (Balty, 2008) and a female head of the early 5th century (Cazes, 1999: 145–147). There were two dozen private portraits, including two figures whose likeness also appears in an Italian villa (Bergmann, 1999: 28–30). A wide variety of ideal sculptures, many of them life-sized, made up the balance of the collection. These include several statues of recognizable types attributed nowadays to particular Greek sculptors (such as a head matching the *Knidian Aphrodite* and the *Athena* of Myron (Cazes, 1999: 104–109). A few of the ideal statues date to the late 4th century. Some important sets of sculpture were added to this complex in Late Antiquity: large panels of the *Labours of Hercules*, and a set of large tondi featuring Greek gods and goddesses. These substantial commissions, which are stylistically attributable to Aphrodisias, demonstrate ambitious planning for the decoration of large rooms. The dating of these two groups is controversial; a Late Antique date is argued cogently by Niels Hannestad and Marianne Bergmann (Hannestad, 1994: 135–141; 2013, 97–100; Bergmann, 1999: 33, 35–36, 58–60). The addition of two large commissions during Late Antiquity demonstrates attentive shaping of the collection in this period.

The large sets of statues from Chiragan must have been commissioned under special circumstances, perhaps from Asian sculptors working abroad. How did other collectors around the empire access mythological statuettes from Asian workshops? I have argued elsewhere that travelling aristocrats (collectors) purchased these statues and brought them home (Stirling, 2005: 132–136). Imperial service brought reasons to travel, and the reign of Theodosius I particularly brought Westerners into

the Eastern Empire. That officials and others attempted to use the imperial transport mechanisms to transport private goods, including marbles, is evident from a rescript of Iulianus in 363 (*codex Theodosianus* viii.5,15; Pharr, 1952: 197) and a law of Arcadius and Honorius forbidding the inclusion of private goods in public cargos (*codex Theodosianus* xiii.8; Pharr, 1952: 399). In general, villas are located along the empire's network of roads and rivers, so transport would have been facilitated (Bowes, 2010: 90–95).

Much recent research has focused on identifying workshops outside Asia Minor. Cristiane Vorster (2012/2013) has identified numerous Late Antique statues and statuettes in Roma, including a group of statuettes displaying a style related to the Asian pieces but carved in Carrara marble (as identified by chemical and petrographic analysis; Vorster, 2012/2013: 460). Luigi Sperti (2011) proposes that a workshop from Asia Minor was active in Aquileia, and that local workshops may have imitated their work. One of the most outstanding examples is a series of tondi found in association with a large suburban villa of the early 4th century at Aquileia, which was a seat of the court in Late Antiquity (Sperti, 2011: 376–382). In composition and style, these tondi have many parallels to those of Chiragan. Niels Hannestad (2012) proposes Western workshops in Bordeaux, Trier, and elsewhere. Stilianos Katakis (2012) argues that an Attic workshop in the late 4th century carved statuettes influenced by the Theodosian court style. A statuette of *Kybele* excavated from a Late Antique house under the National Gardens in Athenai shows Attic traits along with the rounded stylized facial features that go with the Theodosian court style. The statuette is carved from Pentelic marble. Although the quarries on Pentelē were out of use by now, existing architectural blocks could provide stone for statuette-sized carvings. The existence of workshops in a range of centres created more avenues for collectors seeking statuary décor.

Statuary in Late Antique Villas and Houses: A “Collections” Perspective

What did statuary collections in villas look like in Late Antiquity? Apart from Chiragan, most of the statuary assemblages from Late Antique villas contain fewer pieces than do collections known from villas of the early and high empire. The proportion of life-sized statuary within assemblages declined in contrast to the earlier period. There are fewer examples of statues in clearly matched sets, though it should be noted that owners at a number

of villas commissioned contemporary statuary in sets, such as the tondi and the reliefs of the *Labours of Hercules* panels at Chiragan, the tondi at the villa outside Aquileia, or the statuettes of divinities at Saint-Georges-de-Montagne and Quinta das Longas. Overall, though, variety is the main common denominator among these assemblages. Availability of statuary rather than programmatic concerns must have been a major factor in shaping most of the Late Antique assemblages.

Let us step back from the specifics of assemblages and try to evaluate overall concepts of collecting and display. It is useful to start from a reference point of Roman collecting in earlier periods. As discussed in other papers within this volume, literary sources from the late Republic and the early Empire do document Roman individuals amassing enormous collections of works of art that was displayed in locations such as *fora*, temples, gardens (*horti*), villas, houses (see also Bounia, 2004). Ancient discussion of these collections was broadly approving of public ones but more troubled by private ones (Bounia, 2004: 313–314). Through the late Republic, booty or looting was the major source of works of art for public and private collections. With Hellenistic lands conquered and expansion now managed by the emperor, artistic booty diminished and an art market dealing in both antique and Roman classicizing works developed. There are references to precious antiques sold in the *Saepta Iulia* and to the auctioning of works of art (Holleran, 2012: 245–260). Villas were clearly one locus for displaying and appreciating such collections (Neudecker, 1988; 1998). The Villa of the Papyri near Herculaneum provides a taste of the grandeur of such collections, while other surviving statuary assemblages at villas are less intact. Thematic contents and evocation of Greek settings were important in the selection and arrangement of works of art. The Roman interest in thematic decoration and suitability to particular contexts such as baths, villas, or theatres did not require “original” works of art (Perry, 2005: 77; Marvin, 2008: 236–238), an outlook that feels alien to more contemporary conceptions of collecting. Most statues were Roman works in a classicizing style. There were also works in Hellenistic style for suitable subjects, and an archaizing style could convey antiquity and sanctity. At the Villa of the Papyri, Neudecker (1998: 88) points to some groupings that show an aesthetic interest in different styles as well as the subject of the statues.

How do the collections from Late Antique villas compare to villa collections of earlier times? The surviving Late Antique assemblages are generally small and many of their pieces are under-life-sized. Chiragan, with its

hundred-plus pieces, is utterly exceptional and is one of the most extensive collections to survive from any villa of any era. The Late Antique commissions and portraits make it clear that the collection was still being managed and manipulated in a late period. Of course, many collections do not survive archaeologically, and it would be particularly interesting to glimpse the houses or villas of the senatorial aristocracy at Roma, the Late Antique equivalents of Plinius and Cicero. Olympiodoros famously describes huge palaces resembling towns in all their amenities, which must have included sculptural decoration (in Photios, *bibliothēke* lxiii.18–22). Late Antique collections are eclectic in their contents, though certain subjects (such as Dionysos, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hercules) seem to resonate widely. The form of these collections is often principally shaped by heirloom pieces (Stirling, 2005: 219–224). Late Antique villas continue the long-standing practice of acquiring statuary in suitable subject matter to express culture, education, and status.

Moreover, it is difficult to situate the rather small assemblages surviving from villas into the thought-world of their period because there are very few Late Antique textual references concerning personal acquisition of sculpture or works of art in villas or houses more generally. There are some poems by Ausonius and Naucellius about statues, and passing references in a number of other sources (Stirling, 2005: 75–79, 148–153). Connoisseurship is little discussed in frameworks that seem personal or contemporary, and learned-sounding references to famous Greek artists turn out to be literary topoi (Pekáry, 2007: 63–65; Stirling, 2014: 98–100). The fact that written references to statuary in villas diminished in Late Antiquity suggests that this form of collecting had become less important to aristocrats. Indeed, Jaś Elsner (2004: 293–304) argues that “exquisite miniatures” crafted from costly materials such as precious metals, gems, ivory, or glass were the hallmark of Late Antique taste. Such precious objects invited handling and intimate contemplation by an individual or select comrades. The small scale of most of the statuary in Late Antique villas (discussed above) might also have invited close-up inspection and touching. Touching statuary was not so taboo in antiquity as it is in modern museums (Stewart, 2004: 261–264; Classen, 2012: 136–146), but a small format potentially invited a more thorough or investigative form of handling. Glossy or chiselled surfaces, rippling drapery, smooth faces, or curved buttocks could all be comprehended better through a stroke; sculpture is a highly tactile art for its makers and viewers. Touch is an important tool of perception and investigation for a connoisseur (McDonald, 2007;

Vandenbrouck, 2013). A move towards tactile and intimate appreciation of art objects might also have been influenced by the growth in the cult of relics, many of which were tiny but precious.

In light of the factors just listed, is it appropriate, then, to describe the statuary assemblages of Late Antique villas as collections? Susan Pearce (1994: 159) has suggested characteristics that distinguish a collection:

From this discussion we glean that ideas like non-utilitarian gathering, an internal or intrinsic relationship between the things gathered – whether objectively ‘classified’ or not – and the subjective view of the owner are all significant attributes of a collection, together with the notion that a collection is more than the sum of its parts.

How do assemblages in Late Antique villas meet these standards? Retaining heirlooms and continuing to see them as markers of status represents at least a passive form of collecting. Statuary décor in a villa or house expressed the high status and elite education of the owner. Taste for mythological statuary was fostered by education in the literary classics and in rhetoric, since some educational devices used metaphors of works of art and famous artists. Such use of statues as signifiers of education, culture and wealth does give apparently eclectic statues an internal relationship and also speaks to the “subjective view of the owner.” It is somewhat harder, though, to see the generally modest collections described above as conveying a meaning through the whole that extends beyond the significance of individual pieces (Pearce’s fourth point). In the rather small and varied assemblages found in most Late Antique villas, it is also difficult to reconstruct aesthetic values that the owners may have expressed through their collections. Even so, exquisite bronzes of *Hypnos* and a dancing *Hermaphrodite* at El Ruedo remind us of what might have been lost at other sites (Vaquerizo & Noguera Celdrán, 1997: 150–165 nos. 12–13). Those who purchased contemporary statuary and made the extra effort to transport it home from Asia Minor probably valued the classicizing features, sleek surface, or intricate workmanship of these pieces.

Even if personal collections of statuary in villas were smaller in Late Antiquity than in earlier periods, the period saw some spectacular examples of collecting in Constantinopolis. The “New Roma” became a repository of statues, particularly in the famous collections in the Hippodrome, the palace of Lausus, the baths of Zeuxippos, studied by Sarah Bassett (Bassett, 2004; Bassett, chapter 14). These collections by emperors and their close associ-

ates do include original pieces famous for their historical, religious or artistic associations. The particular groupings of statues variously convey messages of Christian triumph, victory of the emperor, and Constantinopolis as the continuator of Roma’s pedigree. The message and subjectivity of the collector in a modern sense is quite evident.

Conclusions

To reprise, there are four main possible sources of statuary for Late Antique collectors: their own heirlooms, purchase of antique statuary from private patrons or dealers, acquisition of statuary from public buildings, and purchase of new statuary from workshops or possibly traders. These sources are often not easy to distinguish archaeologically. Contemporary sculpture (that is, Late Antique sculpture) is the easiest to identify. Old statuary in a villa could come from a variety of sources, as we have seen, and we can try to use indicators such as variety, scale, or reworking as blunt tools to try to discern sources. Let us end with a group of statuettes excavated in Korinthos in 1999 (Stirling, 2008) and once again try to work back from the archaeological record to interpret the sources of this collection [fig. 13.5].

Sometime around the late 3rd or early 4th century, a wealthy patron in Korinthos built a lavish urban dwelling with two *peristylia* and a long decorative pool. The floors had geometric mosaics, and one room had figural frescoes of a *nike* and a *mainas*. There does not appear to be a pre-existing house. Another component of the décor was a set of statuettes whose date of manufacture ranges from the 1st century CE to the late 3rd or early 4th century (45). How did the patron assemble these statues? Several are products of contemporary Attic workshops: the smaller *Asklepios*, the larger *Artemis*, the *Dionysos*, the *Roma*, and possibly the *Herakles*. Apart from the *Roma*, the statuettes are commonplace subjects. Probably the patron could buy these off the shelf at the workshop or through some middleman. The *Roma* is highly unusual as an element in house decoration, all the more so in Greece. This piece was surely a special commission by the owner of the house. Moreover, the configuration resembles a *Roma* that stood in the pediment of a major temple (Temple E) in the Forum of Korinthos. This temple may have housed the imperial cult.

What about the older statues? Overall the collection is quite uniform in scale. Except for the head of the *satyros*, they are all fairly small statuettes. Even a complete statue of the *satyros* would still be well under life size. Moreover, the collection is unified in that the statuettes are all popular renderings of traditional Hellenic divinities. The seated



FIGURE 13.5 Group of statuettes excavated at the Panayia Domus in Korinthos in 1999. Heights range from 0.21 m (Asklepios) to 0.59 m (Roma). (PHOTO COURTESY CORINTH EXCAVATIONS).

Asklepios is based on the cult statue at Epidauros. The patron seems to have deliberately collected a set of small statuettes with paint and gilding, possibly for domestic cult. The uniformity in the collection could mean that the patron deliberately purchased antique pieces that matched with the new ones he had chosen. If so, the uniformity suggests that there was fairly good access to second-hand sculpture in Korinthos in the late third or early 4th century.

The owner of the Panayia Domus found the resources to build a fairly uniform and thematic collection of statuettes. Most Late Antique collections, however, are more striking for their diversity. Heirloom statuary was surely eclectic. And one imagines that used statuary, whether from houses or public buildings, was irregular in supply

and subject matter. Only a handful of patrons had the resources, or perhaps the opportunity, to buy contemporary statues. Increasingly the learned collector of Late Antiquity also had to be an opportunistic collector.

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Collecting and the Creation of History

Sarah Bassett

Cities were the engine of the Roman state. It was in cities, places such as Ephesos in Asia Minor, Augusta Treverorum (Trier) on the Rhine frontier, Emerita Augusta (Merida) in Spain, or Leptis Magna in North Africa, that the business of empire was transacted in all of its workaday administrative, legal, and commercial aspects, and it was here, in the structure and look of the urban environment, that this bureaucratic engagement with empire was transformed and made splendid. In communities across the Roman world the presence of a whole range of building types constructed according to the rules governing the architectural traditions of the classical orders framed and housed the institutions of state in grand style, and in so doing signalled the participation of individual cities in the on-going enterprise of empire. Thus, on the level of the sacred, a Capitolium, a temple accommodating the state gods, not only planted Roman cult in the far-flung territories of the empire, but also gave it a distinct material presence, while the grand structure of an imperial bath served practical social and hygienic needs, announcing as it did the favour of no less a person than the emperor himself towards a given community. In short, architecture communicated the presence of Roma and with it its values. It did so practically by housing institutions that facilitated Roman rule, and visually by creating a uniform and distinct aesthetic of empire: across the Roman world rising columns, rich entablatures, and lavish marbles proclaimed *romanitas*, the sense of participation in the on-going enterprise of the Roman state (McDonald, 1986: 179–273).

If architecture gave permanence to the concept of empire, it was sculpture that enshrined and perpetuated the sense of the local. In the creation and display of ensembles depicting events from local history or the installation of images of local worthies cities presented their histories. A 2nd-century *nymphaion* at Miletos provides an example. An elaborate columnar façade rose on three levels as the frame for a large rectangular pool. In the 3rd century an addition of sculpture depicting gods and goddesses, nymphs, mythic heroes, and local dignitaries filled this architectural stage. Images of gods such as Poseidon and his attendant nymphs embraced the theme of water and its life-giving properties. At the same time, there was a specifically Milesian cast to the imagery

with the inclusion of figures such as Dionysos that referred to the god's local cult. Other statues, such as a portrait of Lallianus, Asiatic Proconsul under Gordianus III (238–244), brought contemporary civic figures into the mix, calling attention to the on-going history of the place (Hülse, 1919). Important in this display was the construct of local history. As the presence of figures of Dionysos and the Proconsul indicate, history had two components: the mythic and the contemporary. Mythic history, manifest in the representations of gods and heroes, described the origins and the antiquity of a place; contemporary history, on display in the figures of local worthies, its on-going urban life. Taken together these two types of images outlined a history that legitimated a city's claims to urban status within the context of empire.

The dialogue between sculpture and architecture that was so defining a part of the ancient Mediterranean's urban conversation set the stage for what was arguably the late antique world's most formidable act of collecting and display, the gathering of antiquities for the newly founded capital of the Roman world, Constantinopolis. Here in the 4th and 5th centuries, the period that saw the shift from a world fully pagan to one increasingly Christian, works of ancient pedigree brought from the cities and sanctuaries of the empire joined forces with architecture to shape a distinct urban image, one that constructed an idealized history of place designed to lend credence to the city's bold claims to urban primacy. My purpose in this essay is to consider the materials gathered in this interest, their methods of display, and the nature and function of antiquity. To this end I shall observe two phases in the history of Constantinopolitan collecting. Drawing on my previously published work (Bassett, 2004) I shall first describe the initial burst of sculptured installation fuelled by the importation of renowned works of pre-4th-century manufacture from the cities and sanctuaries of the Roman world in the immediate aftermath of the city's foundation. This discussion will lay the groundwork for examination of a second topic, the subsequent realignment of collecting interest in the later 4th and 5th centuries around a different type of antiquity, the Christian relic. As has been observed (Elsner, 2000), the gathering and presentation of such relics had much in common with the habits surrounding the collection and display of Greco-Roman antiquities

that gave life to such individual monuments as the Arch of Constantinus at Roma. Especially interesting is the way in which both enterprises appropriated the material remains of the past to construct a vision of history (Elsner, 2000: 153, 178). In this essay I hope to expand upon this observation by demonstrating how these various types of antiquities were brought together in Constantinopolis in an urban collection that tapped into and gave material life to an image of urban primacy based upon contemporary historical understanding.

No consideration of Constantinopolitan collecting can proceed without an overview of the city's topographical development, for it was the city itself that formed the backdrop to its collections [fig. 14.1]. That development took place in two major phases over the course of the 4th and the 5th centuries: the first between the foundation in

324 and the death of Constantinus (305–337); the second from 337 through the mid-5th century with much of the monumental development of this period taking place under the auspices of the Theodosian house between 379 and 450. These building campaigns transformed Byzantium by expanding its urban footprint and monumentalizing its infrastructure.

Founded by Constantinus in 324 as Nova Roma, Constantinopolis, as it soon came to be known, grew up on the site of the old Greco-Roman town of Byzantium, a city perched on the high point of a hilly peninsula surrounded by the waters of the Sea of Marmora, the Golden Horn, and the Bosphoros. When Constantinus selected the site, the city was comprised of two distinct areas: an original urban core that had grown up in the aftermath of the 7th-century BCE foundation around an *akropolis*, and a

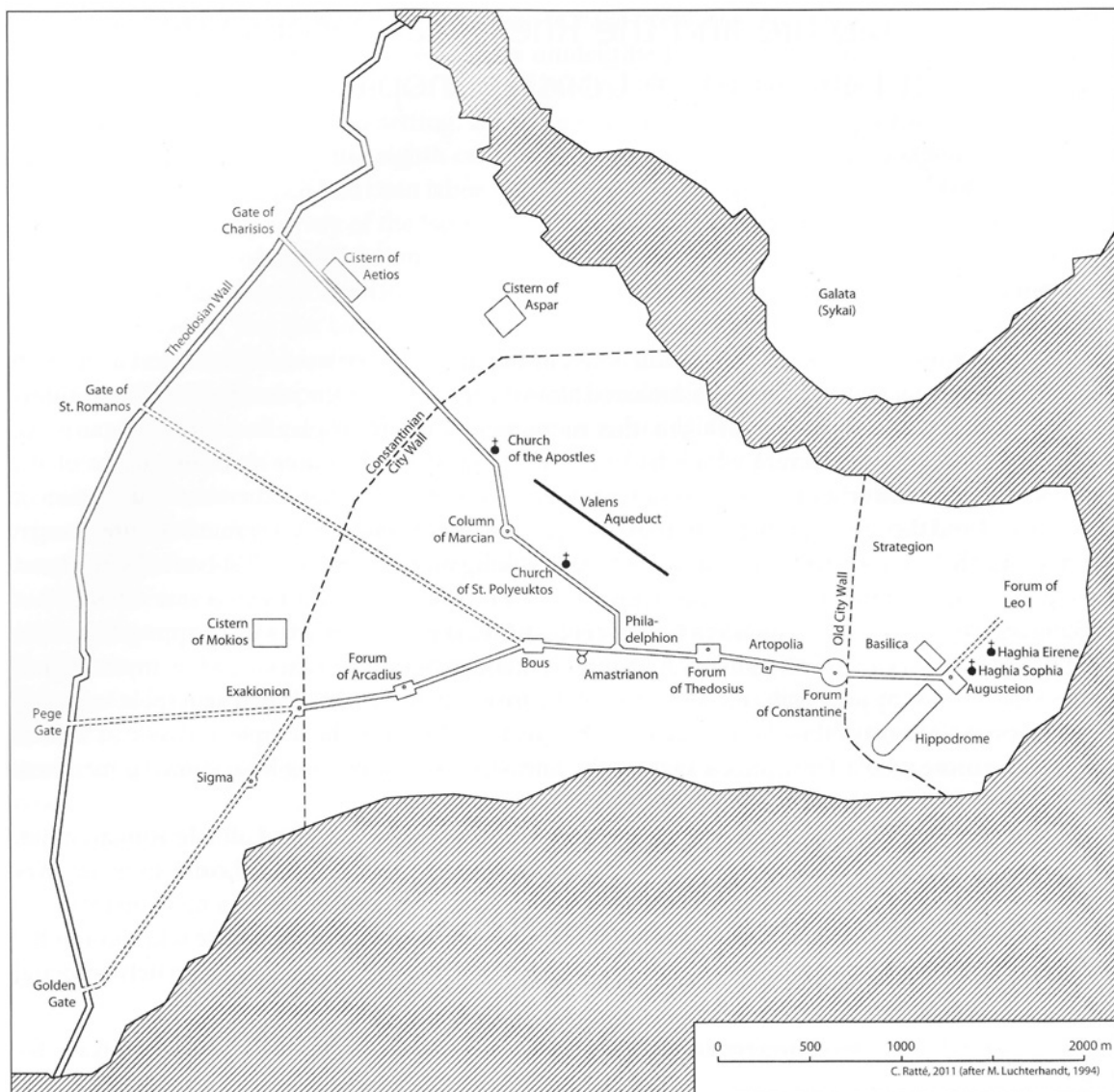


FIGURE 14.1 Plan of Constantinopolis (PLAN: CHRISTOPHER RATTÉ AFTER M. LUCHTERHANDT. WITH KIND PERMISSION OF CHRISTOPHER RATTÉ).

2nd-century development that had been grafted onto this core by Septimius Severus (193–211). The Severan development, which was monumental in scope, introduced a whole series of streets and buildings with distinctly Roman associations: a colonnaded avenue known as the Mese; a *circus* or *hippodromos*; an imperial bath called the Zeuxippos; a *forum* or *agora* known as the Tetrastoon, and another public space, the Basilica. This ensemble formed the core of the Constantinian development. Constantinus is said to have completed the Hippodromos and Baths of Zeuxippos and enlarged the Forum. He also added new buildings: a palace immediately to the South with direct access to the *circus*, and the Forum of Constantinus, a circular space at the juncture of the old city wall and the Mese. Farther to the West a new Constantinian wall enclosed additional territory, enlarging the city several times over. Organized around the extension of the Mese, this Western region included a street system, a Capitolium and the emperor's own mausoleum (Janin, 1964: 9–31; Dagron, 1974: 13–47; Müller-Wiener, 1977: 16–19; Mango, 1985: 13–36; Bauer, 1996: 248–186, 218–233, 247–265; Bassett, 2004: 22–36).

The second major development occurred in the later 4th and 5th centuries, especially, although not exclusively, during the reigns of Theodosius I (379–395), Arcadius (395–408), and Theodosius II (402–450). While there was certainly building in the old city centre, major efforts were concentrated in the Western territory along the artery established by the Mese. Two major public spaces grew up along this axis: the Forum of Theodosius, approximately one Km West of the Forum of Constantinus, and, still farther West, the Forum of Arcadius. Other public works projects included the construction of granaries and a new harbour, the Theodosian port, on the South shore of the peninsula. Under Theodosius II a further expansion occurred with the construction of a new defensive wall approximately 1.5 Km West of the Constantinian circuit. Built between 405 and 413, the Land Wall ran in an arc from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmora. A maritime defence wall was added later in the 5th century. (Janin, 1964: 32–42; Müller-Wiener, 1977: 19–23; Mango, 1985: 37–50; Bauer, 1996: 187–212; Bassett, 2004: 79–84).

Building within the Constantinian and Theodosian city appears to have conformed to the norms of empire architecture. Lavish marbles and column displays were the order of the day as architecture was designed to serve as a stage set for the activities of the Roman state. The institutions housed by these structures confirmed that end: the Palace fulfilled residential and administrative needs, the Hippodromos provided a ceremonial venue, the Forum of Constantinus created administrative and ceremonial

space. Apart from these practical functions, these buildings and other public structures such as the Baths of Zeuxippos and the Basilica stood as testament to imperial benefaction.

Religious foundations accommodated both pagan and Christian interests in the 1st century of the city's existence. Not only did the old temples in the area of the *akropolis* continue to operate, but new temples also were constructed. These included a pair in the Basilica, one each dedicated to the *tykhai* of Roma and Constantinopolis, and a Capitolium at the bifurcation of the Mese (Mango, 1959: 44; Janin, 1964: 304–305; Mango, 1985: 30; Bassett, 2004: 24, 31–32, 71–73). No more than three Christian churches complemented this roster. In the old city, construction of the first cathedral, Hagia Eirene, took place at the Western edge of Byzantium's *akropolis* on the site of what had probably been a Christian community building (Zosimos, *historia nea* ii.16; Janin, 1953: 108–111; Müller-Wiener, 1977: 112). At least one other foundation rose in the Western territories: a church dedicated to the martyr Mokios in the suburban area immediately to the West of the Constantinian wall (Ebersolt, 1921: 74–78; Janin, 1953: 17–18, 367). A second martyr shrine, to Akakios, generally is considered a Constantinian foundation; however, the actual association with the martyr saint may date to later in the 4th century (Ebersolt, 1921: 74–78; Janin, 1953: 17–18, 367; Woods, 2001).

As this overview of the building campaign suggests, this architectural ensemble was an exercise in the on-going construction of *romanitas*. Not only were the administrative, cultural and ceremonial functions accommodated distinctly Roman, but so too was the architecture with its rising columns and lavish marble fittings.

This architectural backdrop set the stage for the first phase of Constantinopolitan collecting, a project designed to create the sculptured installations that would breathe life into the new capital in the description of its history. The mandate was to gather and display images that would evoke the city's past. The only difficulty was that there was nothing in Byzantium's story to merit commemoration, much less persuade viewers of the claims to pre-eminence suggested in the name Nova Roma. It thus fell to Constantinus and his planners to create that past. This they did in a supreme act of revisionist history-making that saw the selection, importation, and installation of monuments from the cities and sanctuaries of the Roman world (Bassett, 2004: 50–78). Sources note various provenances, among them the major sanctuaries of the Hellenic world and no less than 25 cities in addition to Roma (Eusebios of Kaisareia, *vita Constantini* [*eis ton bion Konstantinou*] iii.54; *patria Konstantinopoleos* ii.73; Zosimos, *historia nea*

ii.32). As Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (St. Jerome), observed, “Constantinopolis was enriched with the nudity of almost every city founded before it” (*chronicon* 324).

What were the monuments that found their way to Constantinopolis? In terms of formal preference most of the city’s antiquities were of late classical, Hellenistic or Roman manufacture. Thus statuary of 4th- and 3rd-century BCE production stood together with Roman portraits. Many works, among them a *Doryphoros* by Polykleitos (Bassett, 2004: 160) and a *Hermes* after Lysippos (Bassett, 2004: 172–173) probably were copies or variations on standard sculptured types from the classical and late classical repertoire that could have been produced at any point in the Hellenistic or Roman period. Unique monuments, works such as the *Serpent Column* of the Plataian Tripod (Bassett, 2004: 224–227) or a statue such as the wolf with Romulus and Remus (Bassett, 2004: 231) joined ranks with the copies, suggesting that contemporary taste admired and appreciated a wide range of style within the overarching framework of the classical representational tradition.

Diversity of medium was also an aspect of the city’s collections. All of the major gatherings displayed works in marble, and there is evidence such as the figures of the Tetrarchs (Bassett, 2004: 242), now in Venice but originally from Nikomedeia by way of Constantinopolis, for statuary of porphyry and other Egyptian hard stones. Mostly, though, the preferred medium would have been bronze, especially gilded or silvered bronze. More costly than marble or any other stone, it was bronze that lent a city an air of elegance, wealth, and grandeur.

And what of subject matter? As elsewhere in the Roman world, sculpture could be understood in terms of two broad categories, the mythic and the honourific. Mythic figures included representations of gods, goddesses, and heroes such as the *Hermes*. Honourific sculpture included portraits of emperors and other prominent citizens or memorials to events, most commonly victory in battle. These monuments were installed in venues appropriate to their subject matter and according to the traditions governing Roman sculptured display.

This traditional language of display, visual and iconographic, was marshalled to describe a new Constantinopolitan identity. Although sculpture was distributed throughout the city in spaces large and small, there were three major display venues: the Hippodromos, the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the Forum of Constantinus. It was in this triad of spaces that Constantinus installed collections to create an image of history that allowed Constantinopolis, a new-comer to the urban scene, to stand unrivalled among the already venerable cities of the later Roman world.

In the Hippodromos monuments stood at the entrance and along the central barrier of the racetrack (Dagron, 2011: 94–107; Bassett, 2004: 58–67, 212–232). These display pieces included, among others, statues of the Dioskouroi (Zosimos, *historia nea* ii.31; Bassett, 2004: 214), their sister, *Helene* (Niketas Khoniates, *historia* 651; Bassett, 2004: 215), a *Wolf with Romulus and Remus* (Niketas Khoniates, *historia* 650–651; Bassett, 2004: 231), *Iulius Caesar* (*patria Konstantinopoleos* ii.81; Bassett, 2004: 214), Augustus (*parastaseis syntomoi khronikai* 60; Bassett, 2004: 214), and *Diocletianus* (*parastaseis syntomoi khronikai* 76; Bassett, 2004: 214), a statue of *Victory* (*anthologia graeca* xvi.345; Bassett, 2004: 231), a figure of an ass with its driver (*parastaseis syntomoi khronikai* 64; Bassett, 2004: 213), and the *Serpent Column* (Bassett, 2004: 224–227). From this seeming jumble of unrelated images three major themes emerge. The Dioskouroi and Helene refer to the Trojan epic, while the *Wolf with Romulus and Remus* and the imperial portraits evoke the image of Roma. The two remaining monuments, the ass and driver and the *Serpent Column*, stand as victory monuments. Originally set up in the aftermath of Augustus’s victory over Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra the ass and driver referred to one of the great military engagements of Roman history. Suetonius accounts for the idiosyncratic subject matter:

At Aktion as he [Octavianus] was going down to begin the battle, he met an ass with his driver, the man having the name Eutykhes [Prosper] and the beast Nikon [Victory]. (Suetonius, *Augustus* 96)

The statue was thus a representation of a chance encounter between the future emperor and a passer-by understood as an omen foretelling the defeat of Antonius, an image enshrining the memory of victorious destiny.

The *Serpent Column*, a now-headless set of three entwined bronze snakes, was also a monument to victory, in this case that of the Greeks over the Persians at the Battle of Plataiai (479 BCE). Originally the serpents formed the support for a large tripod dedicated as a thank-offering in the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphoi. By the 4th century the tripod itself had been missing for several hundred years thus leaving the serpents as the image of triumph.

As statuary in Roman *circi* was wont to do, the sculptured ensemble in the Hippodromos articulated a series of themes pertinent both to the *circus* as an institution and to the city as a place (Humphreys, 1986: 475). Athletic prowess and the victory it ensured was thus a prominent theme, one embodied in the representations of figures such as the Dioskouroi, horse-trainers and heroes who could serve as role models for athletes participating in the games. But these statues also went beyond this generic

reference to construct a distinct history for the city. They did so by building on the common understanding that statues displayed in such venues could also refer to civic history either by representing local gods and heroes or prominent citizens. Thus the Dioskouroi and Helene were claimed for Constantinopolitan tradition, as were other statues in the *circus*: the *Wolf with Romulus and Remus*, and the series of imperial portrait statues. Together these images made two prominent connections: the first to the city of Troia (Troy), the second to the city of Roma. The point was to align Constantinopolis, the Nova Roma, with these two ancient centres, both in terms of myth and history.

The *Serpent Column* and the ass and driver worked in a similar manner. As victory monuments they too referred to the activities of the place. But they also transcended the image of racing to summon the memory of two of the Greco-Roman world's most portentous military engagements. At Plataiai the Greek allies put the last match to Persian aspirations for control of the Greek world, while at Aktion Octavianus consolidated the power that led to his eventual proclamation as Augustus. In both cases the victories represented a turning point in the fortunes of a people, a turning point analogous to Constantinus' own victory over Licinius, a victory that gave him sole control of the Roman world. In short, sculpture argued for Constantinus' own heroic connection to and reiteration of a historic past (Bassett, 2004: 65–66).

Embedded in the collection of sculpture at the Hippodromos was an outline of history that obliterated the reality of Byzantium's wholly undistinguished past to proclaim Constantinopolis a new Troia and a new Roma. Collections elsewhere in the city used traditional display venues and habits of organization and presentation to reiterate these same themes. In the Baths of Zeuxippos sculpture was chosen in a manner consistent with traditional bath display. Here, as in any of the great imperial baths across the empire, statues of gods and goddesses that referred to the health and healing activities associated with bathing stood together with portraits of famous individuals designed to refer to civic history, and a cycle of mythic sculpture meant to entertain and delight (Manderscheid, 1981: 28–46). As at the Hippodromos, a distinct Constantinopolitan vision of history emerged from within this framework, one built upon traditional expectation and its variation. The mythic cycle, made up largely of characters from the *Ilias* reiterated the idea of a Trojan connection, while portrait sculpture worked to create a historical identity for the city. Portrait sculpture was a standard feature in Roman baths. In cities across the empire images of local worthies crowded together

to describe the history of the place (Manderscheid, 1981: 34–38). At the Zeuxippos, this tradition was perpetuated, but as a variation on the theme. Instead of a roster of local heroes, of which there were none, the portrait collection presented the great culture heroes of Greece and Roma, the likes of Homeros (Khristodoros, *ekphrasis* [in the *anthologia palatina*] 311–50; Kedrenos, *synopsis historion* i.649; Bassett, 2004: 173–175), Demosthenes (Khristodoros, *ekphrasis* [in the *anthologia palatina*] 23–31; Bassett, 2004: 168), and Vergilius (Khristodoros, *ekphrasis* [in the *anthologia palatina*] 414–416; Bassett, 2004: 185), in their stead. The effect of this selection was to set aside any reference to local history and to claim the vast sweep of Greek and Roman tradition as Constantinopolis' own. Thus the Zeuxippos offered two themes: with the cycle of epic heroes it once again made reference to Troia, while the roster of Greek and Roman literary and military figures allied the city with the empire's own epic history (Bassett, 2004: 51–58, 160–185; Stupperich, 1982).

Similar references were made in the Forum of Constantinus (Bassett, 2004: 68–71, 188–208). Circular in shape with a large porphyry column surmounted by a figure of Constantinus anchoring the space at its centre, the Forum also was home to a third major sculptured display in the rising columnar façade of a *nymphaion* (Bauer, 1996: 171). Here statues of gods and goddess stood together with nymphs and other sea-creatures. Among the figures were representations of Paris, Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera (Niketas Khoniates, *historia* 648; Bassett, 2004: 205). In short, the ensemble displayed the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and with it the Judgment of Paris, the event that set the entire Trojan epic in motion. Inclusion of the Palladion, the ancient image of the armed Athena, at the base of the column cemented the Trojan link (Prokopios of Kaisareia, *anekdota (historia arcana)* i.15; Malalas Ioannes, *khronographia* 320; *chronicon paschale* 528; *patria Konstantinopoleos* ii.45; Bassett, 2004: 205). The supernatural protector first of Troia and then of Roma, to which it was carried off in the wake of the Trojan sack, the presence of the statue not only bound Constantinopolis to Roma and Troia before it, but also guaranteed its defence.

Individually and collectively, these sculptured displays described Constantinopolis both as the rightful successor to the fortunes of Troia and Roma and as the steward of Greek and Roman culture. That Constantinopolis would be likened to Roma is obvious. In staking its claim to capital status, it was logical that the city would be described as a new Roma, the successor to the rights and privileges of the old. Less clear is the relationship to Troia, the city from which Roma itself was founded. At work here was an appeal to the thing that mattered most to the Romans,

the legitimating force of epic antiquity. As the array of foundation myths associated with the cities of the Roman world attests, no place had greater prestige than one founded by a god or hero, a sentiment underscored by the 3rd-century rhetor, Menandros, in his instructions to the would-be encomiast. In enumerating the various approaches to the offering of praise Menandros remarks that an ancient city is an honourable city, one "eternal like the gods." (Menandros, *peri epideiktikon* 50–51).

However ubiquitous they may have been, such stories, being largely local in reference, were often obscure. In making claims for capital status it was important that the Constantinopolitan foundation story be one of unrivalled, universal appeal, and no stories were better equipped to fulfil this mandate than those of Troia and Roma. The tales claimed for the city's history were universally familiar. These were the stories that informed imagination from first youth up to extreme old age. As such they created a history and through it an urban identity that was as familiar as it was venerable. The myth and history that constructed the city's identity was that of everyman, and the draw of these epic tales was such that they not only equipped the city with a venerable past, but also allowed it to transcend the limitations of the parochial (Bassett, 2004: 76–77).

The material aspect of the collection bolstered the vision of primacy engineered through the manipulation of this subject matter. With the gathering of select monuments from around the Roman world, Constantinus tapped into a centuries' old tradition of appropriation that itself lent meaning to the works on display beyond the intrinsic subject matter. Specifically, sculptured appropriation described a power relationship between those who commandeered and those who relinquished cultural treasures. As such it was a proclamation of splendour and wealth, and a clear demonstration of the command of civilization (Ostenberg, 2009: 283–284). The story of one of the ancient world's most renowned sculptures, a colossal bronze statue of *Herakles* by Lysippos commissioned by the city of Taras in the 4th century BCE, offers an example. The statue, which represented the city's patron god, stood on the Tarentine *akropolis*, the focus of city pride, an emblem of civic virtue. Thus when Taras fell to Roma in the 2nd century BCE the *Herakles* was taken off to the Roman Capitol where it was displayed permanently as an emblem of conquest and Roman might (Strabon vi.3.1; Plinius, *naturalis historia* xxxiv.40; Ploutarkhos, *Fabius Maximus* 12.6). When, in the 4th century, it was moved from Roma to Constantinopolis an additional layer of meaning was added, one that described a new power relationship, that between Roma and the new capital on the

Bosporos (*parastaseis syntomoi khronikai* 37; *souda lexikon* beta, 157: "Basilike"; Konstantinos Manasses, *ekphrasis* i.21–32; Niketas Khoniates, *historia* 519, 649–50; Bassett, 2004: 13, 152–154; Ostenberg, 2009: 87).

As the example of the *Herakles* makes clear, the plunder and subsequent display of statuary in a new setting was a way to express a hierarchical relationship between one population and another. But it was also a means of expressing continuity with the past through the appropriation of its material legacy. In Constantinopolis the wholesale gathering and display of antiquities from across the empire accomplished two things. To begin with, the very antiquity of the monuments gave physical reality to the claim of mythic origins. In addition, the gathering of these cultural resources in one place expressed both the pre-eminence of Nova Roma as a centre of power, and its role as a custodian of ancient tradition.

With the massing of antiquities in the capital, Constantinus claimed control of the history of Greece and Roma for himself and his city. He also created a stunningly rich urban environment, one in which sculpture and architecture worked in concert to dazzle with the sheer force of physical beauty. And this beauty itself was part of the point, for beauty was anything but skin deep. Instead, it was understood to be the very embodiment of virtue (Saradi, 1995). Thus, the physical shape of Constantinopolis as structured by its architecture and sculpture gave enduring testament to the city's virtue and with it, its right to rule.

While the importation of antiquities continued into the 6th century, subsequent contributions remained isolated and tended to build on earlier Constantinian efforts. But this is not to say that as the search for and display of sculptured antiquities tapered off, the articulation of urban history came to a close. With the increasing predominance of Christianity and its ultimate establishment as the religion of state by the end of the 4th century, a new, specifically Christian idea of history developed (Chesnut, 1977) one that eventually found its own expression in the urban fabric of Constantinopolis in a second wave of collecting. In this instance focus was on a new and different type of antiquity, the sacred relic.

Relics, the physical remains of the holy protagonists of sacred history or objects associated with their earthly existence, emerged as a focus of Christian piety over the course of the 4th century. The great imperially-sponsored shrines at the burial sites of the Christian martyrs in Roma that sprang up in the first decades after the Edict of Milan (313) bear witness to this development, as does interest in and construction around the Holy Land at the sites associated with the events surrounding Christ's life (Grabar,

1946: 234–293; Armstrong, 1967; Brown, 1981; Hunt, 1982: 128–154). Although initially tied to specific places, these sacred bodies and the material goods associated with them came to be understood as transferable objects of veneration with the result that in the later 4th and the 5th centuries translation from one place to another became an established feature of Christian life. This portability made it possible for such objects to distribute the sanctity of the first Christian protagonists to the territories of the Roman world (Wortley, 2004b: 144). Constantinopolis was no exception to this development, initially identifying and nurturing its own shrines, before developing new ones around a whole series of translated relics.

At the time of the Constantinian foundation, the city's stock in sacred remains was modest. As noted, only two martyrs, Mokios and Akakios, had local associations (Ebersolt, 1921: 74–78; Janin, 1953: 17–18, 367). The extent to which their shrines were recognized and elaborated at this time is not clear, nor is the extent of Constantinian involvement. In contrast to Roma, where the emperor had dowered the city with magnificent churches, the new cathedral at the Lateran and the great cemetery basilica at the shrine of St. Peter among them, his Constantinopolitan church-building activity was restrained (Dagron, 1974: 388–400). Sokrates (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* vi.23) and Sozomenos (Sozomenos Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* xiii.17,5) state only that Constantinus may have been responsible for the large basilica dedicated to Mokios, and while the church associated with Akakios eventually was associated with a martyr of that name by the 5th century, it is possible that the original foundation had nothing to do with the saint, but took its name originally from its founder, Akakios, a high ranking functionary at the Constantinian court (Woods, 2001). Whatever the case in this formative phase, it is clear from the sources that both shrines were active cult centres by the 5th century.

Constantinus' interest in relic acquisition appears to have been similarly muted (Wortley, 2004a). Sources make no direct mention of any such activity. An enigmatic passage by Eusebios (*vita Constantini* [*eis ton bion Konstantinou*] iv.60) notes that in planning his burial the emperor desired that his own sarcophagus be surrounded by "... twelve coffins – as it were sacred statues – in honour and resemblance of the apostolic choir ...". Although it may be that Constantinus was considering relic acquisition (Elsner, 2000: 157–58), the reference to "sacred statues" suggests that sculptured portraits rather than body parts were used to secure an apostolic presence. Later, Sokrates (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* i.17) and Sozomenos (Sozomenos Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike*

historia ii.1) describe a gift of relics from the dowager empress Helena, a fragment of the True Cross and nails from the Crucifixion in the aftermath of her journey to the Holy Land, suggesting again a passive relationship to relic acquisition.

It seems therefore that Constantinus' interest in actual relics was a secondary one, and that it was only after his death that any active concern for the systematic importation of sacred remains emerged. It did so under his son and successor Constantius (337–360) in a short burst of activity surrounding the development of his father's mausoleum and the associated church of Holy Apostles, the Apostoleion. Three relics were brought there in 356 and 359: those of St. Timothy, the disciple of St. Paul and the first bishop of Ephesos, and those of the apostles St. Andrew and St. Luke (*chronicon paschale* 533, 542; Mango, 1990; Woods, 1991).

After this flurry of translation, there appears to have been a hiatus in relic collection until the last decade of the 4th century when, in 391, Theodosius I (379–395) is reported to have deposited the head of St. John the Baptist in a shrine at the suburban palace of the Hebdomon (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* vii.21; *chronicon paschale* 564). The practice initiated by Theodosius was continued by members of his dynasty over the course of the 5th century with sources reporting no less than 13 specific inventions or translations between 400 and 450. Joining the head of the Baptist were the remains of the prophet Samuel in 406 (*chronicon paschale* 569), Joseph the son of Jacob and Zechariah the father of St. John the Baptist in 415–416 (*chronicon paschale* 572), and St. Stephen, who arrived in two separate translations, the first in 421 (Theophanes, *khronographia* i.86,26–87.5), the second in 439 (Marcellinus Comes, *chronicon* 439.2). Relics of St. Lawrence (Theodoros Lector, *ekklesiastike historia* ii.64), and the prophet Isaiah (Kedrenos, *synopsis historion* i.600) also made their way to the capital, as did the great Marian prize, the Virgin's cincture (Nikephoros Kallistos, *ekklesiastike historia* xiv.49; *menologion of Basil II* 613C; Holum, 1982: 142 n.227), the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* ix.2), and Ioannes Khrysostomos (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* vii.45; Marcellinus Comes, *chronicon* 428).

Surviving accounts indicate that these events were intimately connected with imperial sponsorship with either the emperor himself or members of his household laying claim to the disposition of relics. Thus, Theodosius I is credited with the head of St. John the Baptist (*chronicon paschale* 563), and Pulcheria, his granddaughter, with the Forty Martyrs (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* ix.2). While episcopal oversight was also possible as

in the case of Bishop Proclus's securing of the remains of Ioannes Khrysostomos, it is clear from Sokrates's report (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* vii.45) that in such instances the bishop's acts were made known to and sanctioned by the emperor.

The gathering of relics was an enterprise whose intensity increased exponentially in the decades after 400 with the lion's share of activity concentrated in the last three decades of the reign of Theodosius II. Thus, while Theodosius I limited his interaction with relics to the translation of the head the Baptist and the grand event of the reign of his son and successor Arcadius appears to have been the welcoming of Samuel, Theodosius II and the members of his circle oversaw the arrival of no less than ten holy persons or objects.

As with all official events, these translations were accomplished with due pomp. The reception of Samuel in 406 offers an example. Having arrived in Khalkedon after his long journey from the Holy Land, the prophet was conveyed across the water to the city where he was greeted by no less a person than the emperor Arcadius together with Anthemius, a former praetorian prefect and consul, the city prefect Aemilianus, and all the members of the Senate. Once safely on shore the prophet and his attendants made their way in a grand procession through the streets of Constantinopolis to the Great Church (*chronicon paschale* 569).

Where in the aftermath of their translations did these precious remains come to rest? In the case of the indigenous saints, Mokios and Akakios, the shrines were established outside the circuit of the Constantinian walls most probably in extra-mural cemeteries that were subsequently engulfed in the 4th-century expansion of the city. By contrast, Constantinus is reported to have deposited the True Cross in the Forum where it resided in the company of the Palladion (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* i.17; Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* ii.1). The nails, it is claimed, were fashioned either into a helmet for the emperor, or, in an alternate version, a bit and a headpiece for the emperor's horse in recognition of the Old Testament prophecy of Zechariah which stated, "that which shall be upon the bit of the horse shall be holy to the Lord Almighty."

After these tentative beginnings a variety of resting places began to emerge. The first to do so was the Apostoleion at the time of Constantius' apostolic translations (Mango, 1990). By the end of the century, the Hebdomon had come into its own. Established first as the resting place of St. John the Baptist, it became the final depository for the remains of Samuel in 411 (*chronicon paschale* 571).

With the exception of the deposits in the Forum of Constantinus, these early shrines appear to have been located on the city's edge, immediately inside the Constantinian wall, as in the case of the Apostoleion, or beyond the Constantinian defensive circuit, as evidenced by the shrines of Mokios and Akakios and the chapel at the Hebdomon. By the third decade of the 5th century, this centrifugal habit appears to have changed, as churches came to be built and relics deposited more consistently in intramural locations. The 5th-century regional catalogue, the *notitia urbis Constantinopolis*, documents a major expansion of church building. At the time of its compilation around 425, it listed no less than 25 churches, a significant increase over the three sites associated with the Constantinian age. It was at these new shrines that the relics of saints such as St. Lawrence arrived (Theodoros Lector, *ekklesiastike historia* ii.64; Ebersolt, 1921: 87) to populate the city in areas increasingly dispersed and ever more thickly settled with the sacred.

Access to these relics must have varied. Some, such as the remains of St. Stephen, disappeared into the inner sanctum of the Great Palace into purpose-built churches (Holum, 1982: 103; Kalavrezou, 1997: 57–67). Others such as the Virgin's cincture, enshrined at the Church of the Virgin in the Khalkoprateia, were housed in venues with far greater public access.

In certain instances saints enjoyed multiple resting places in the course of their Constantinopolitan lives. Thus Samuel was hosted first at Hagia Sophia before being transferred to the Hebdomon (*chronicon paschale* 570), and St. Stephen, who arrived in two separate translations, found himself divided between the closed setting of the palace, and the publically accessible church of St. Lawrence where he bunked with the church's eponymous saint (Marcellinus Comes, *chronicon* 469.2; Holum, 1982: 196; Ebersolt, 1921: 87–88).

Within these contexts display practices seem to have varied. Accounts make it clear that the relics themselves were housed in precious containers: Samuel arrived in a gold casket sheathed in silk. But the extent to which the containers themselves were visible is unknown. In some instances relics were deposited beneath altars, their access so highly restricted that their presence was eventually forgotten. Thus, the remains at the Apostoleion were literally reinvented at the time of the church's Justinianic restoration, discovered in the excavations beneath the altar during the remodelling. By the same token, the internment of Ioannes Khrysostomos in a tomb at the same church later suggests that there was a good deal of variety in practice.

What does seem to be a feature of most if not all instances of relic acquisition is the ritual of processional

display, a habit that has been compared to an imperial *adventus* (Holum & Vikan, 1979). The arrival of Samuel at Hagia Sophia was not an isolated incident. Similarly elaborate processions were mounted at the arrival of Joseph and Zacharias (*chronicon paschale* 572) and the internment of Ioannes Khrysostomos (Sokrates Skholastikos, *ekklesiastike historia* vii.45). Thus it was in the ritual pagentry of arrival or the display throughout the ecclesiastical year in urban processions that the saints made their presence known and felt throughout the city and at their shrines.

Clearly the surge in collecting activity under the Theodosians represented a concerted effort. To what end? Khrysostomos himself offers some insight into the project. Commenting on a translation of unnamed relics from Hagia Sophia to an extramural shrine the bishop remarked: "For as the swelling waters are not contained within their own spaces, but burst forth and flow freely, so does the grace of the spirit which rests in the bones and inhabits the saints go forth into those who pursue it with faith." (Khrysostomos, *homilia* 2; Holum, 1989: 56–57) Relic acquisition was in other words a means of sanctifying community and, by extension, place.

Modern scholarship confirms and expands upon Khrysostomos' understanding in a variety of ways, none mutually exclusive. Thus, the ingathering of relics has been seen both as a bid to enhance Constantinopolitan claims to apostolic primacy (Dvornik, 1958: 138–180) and as a dynastic enterprise designed generally to strengthen the claims of the Theodosian house, particularly the *basileia* of Pulcheria (Holum, 1989: 21, 79–111). Building upon Elsner (2000), what I would also like to suggest is that both the native inventions and external translations that punctuated urban life over the course of the 5th century represented a sustained and deliberate effort to rewrite the Christian history of Constantinopolis in a manner analogous to the collection and installation of ancient sculpture a century before. In the same way that Constantinus marshalled the sculptured patrimony of the ancient world to envision a new history for the capital, Theodosius and the members of his dynasty drew upon the material legacy of the Holy Land to fashion a complementary Christian identity for the capital of equal antiquity and similarly universal scope.

With only two obscure local saints to call its own Constantinopolis was fundamentally bereft of a meaningful Christian past. In contrast to Yerushalayim, the city had no sacred places to give testament to the seminal events of Christian history, nor did it have a rich tradition of martyrdom and burial such as that that gave Roma its sacred dead, the panoply of burial places associated

with them, and, ultimately, a heroic status. In terms of Christian history, the shrines of Mokios and Akakios represented a sorry showing. Paucity of numbers apart, neither saint was a household name, a fact that could not have been lost on the Christian emperors. It is therefore possible that the search for relics may have been an effort to address both the head count and the issue of name recognition.

On the face of it, the importation of these remains represented a break with earlier urban tradition. The translation of relics was, after all, a characteristically Christian enterprise, one that set aside traditional Roman taboos about the presence of the dead in urban contexts, in a bid to endow the city with the energy of Christian sanctity (Brown, 1981: 86–127; Wortley, 2006c: 5–10). At the same time, however, the aim of the project together with the ideas and assumptions that fuelled it was identical to those that had driven the collection and display of antiquities (Elsner, 2000: 158–59). Like the monuments culled from the cities and sanctuaries of the Roman world, the relics of Constantinopolis created a history for the city both through individual identity and their status as appropriated objects.

Derived largely, but not exclusively, from the Holy Land, the Constantinopolitan relics were of different types. Some represented Old Testament figures. Others were those of New Testament protagonists. Still others represented subsequent Christian actors. These groups represented different phases of Christian history; phases that corresponded to theoretical structures of history mooted by Christian theologians as early as the 2nd century before being fully structured in works by the 4th-century ecclesiastic and historian, Eusebios of Kaisareia. In works such as the *pantodape historia* and the *ekklesiastike historia*, Eusebios outlined an historical trajectory of progress towards salvation (Chesnut, 1977: 62–95 esp. 68–73). That trajectory began with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden, an event that represented the fall into historical time, proceeded through an era of savagery, an age tempered only by a group Eusebios referred to as the "Friends of God", biblical heroes such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the epic phase of the life of Moses and its aftermath. According to Eusebios, it was with Moses that philosophy and ethics were first established and then spread to the world, preparing it over the course of a millennium for two simultaneous events, the rise of Roma and the coming of Christ. For Eusebios, Church and Empire shared a common origin and a common destiny. They were, as he put it, "two great powers springing fully up . . . out of one stream." (Eusebios of Kaisareia, *de Theophania* [*peri tes Theophaneias*] iii.2; Chesnut, 1977: 73).

The relics brought to Constantinopolis reflected aspects of this history. Samuel and Joseph were among the "Friends of God". St. Timothy, St. Andrew, and St. Luke along with other New Testament protagonists, especially Mary and Jesus, bore witness to events at the opposite end of the spectrum, the moment when the destiny of Roma converged with that of the church. Later remains, those of St. Stephen and the Forty Martyrs, for example, spoke of the on-going relationship between the two powers.

In addition, relics argued for a particular history of sanctity, especially in relation to Roma. To begin with they established the antiquity of the Constantinopolitan church. The "Friends of God" provided the city with remains far more ancient than any known to Roma. This ancient pedigree was underscored by the presence of St. Stephen, the first martyr, stoned outside the walls of Yerushalayim before Christianity was even known in Italy. Then there were the Apostles, who established if not pre-eminence at least parity with St. Peter and St. Paul at Roma. Finally, there was the surpassing presence of those most precious of Christian tokens, the True Cross and the Marian relic.

Taken together, these sacred remains created a kind of Christian foundation myth, one that saw Constantinopolis and its territory as the Nova Ierusalem. In this regard, the relic collection was analogous to the sculptured installations that linked the fortunes of the city to those of Troia and Roma. Like the gatherings in the Hippodromos, the Baths, and the Forum, the relics deposited in the shrines

of Constantinopolis connected the city to a profoundly ancient past. Further like those sculptured displays, the relic hoard drew much of its meaning from the fact of its appropriation. Derived largely from the Holy Land, but also from other areas of the empire, the appropriation of these objects demonstrated the hegemony of Constantinopolis over the empire in matters Christian. And finally they too, like the sculptured monuments that shaped the urban environment, were an aspect of urban beauty, objects whose very presence, however visible they may or may not have been, underscored the virtue of the place.

The growing relic hoard of Constantinopolis was the perfect complement to the collection of antiquities. Intellectually it operated in a manner consistent with contemporary Christian historical imagination, to propose a history that intertwined seamlessly with the outline offered in the installations of the Constantinian age. That historical interaction was made real in the structure of the city itself. Churches and shrines, themselves structured according to the aesthetics of empire architecture (Mathews, 1971: 11–41), were inserted into the existing urban armature so that relics and sculpture shared the same urban space. Thus in the collection and housing of Hellenic, Roman, and Christian antiquities the city presented itself as a grand historical epitome, one that demonstrated not only the triumph of Constantinus and Christ, but also the full majesty of Constantinopolitan stewardship in terms that were now fully Christian.

Afterword. Framing Knowledge: Collecting Objects, Collecting Texts

Jaś Elsner

It is a commonplace that we know antiquity through our collections – from the Renaissance via the Grand Tour to the imperial excavations and appropriations of the 19th century. Less obvious is the fact that so much of what modernity has collected was itself the product of varieties of collections in antiquity, which packaged the past and the present for its own needs, much as modern museums do now. Among the most famous Sumerian sculptures are the effigies of Gudea, Prince of Lagash, made (well before the period mainly under discussion in this book) in the impressive and hard black stone called diorite towards the end of the third millennium BCE. These were excavated by the French at the Mesopotamian site of Telloh after the 1870s and most are in the Louvre. What is less well known is that Telloh became a Hellenistic palace in the 2nd century BCE, where the local ruler, Adad-nadin-ahhe, a subject of the Seleucid king, excavated the Gudea statues (which were already 2000 years old by his time). He made a collection of his findings, had his scholars read and identify the ancient Sumerian script and re-displayed the Gudea material in his own palace on the site. Preserving and copying the clay bricks with inscriptions from Gudea's time, Adad-nadin-ahhe added his own brick with an inscription in Greek and Aramaic proclaiming his place in an invented tradition of continuity between himself and Gudea, which his collection had established (Bahrani, 2014: 217–33). Some of our prime prehistoric monuments from the dawn of art history turn out to have been items in a Greco-Babylonian collection.

As the essays in this book prove – alongside a rich recent spate of publication on ancient collecting, well attested in this volume's bibliographies – the practice of collecting in Greek and Roman antiquity was a fundamental aspect of cultural life among the ancient elite. Collecting is an activity known in prehistoric times, as attested by the assemblages of ancient and foreign objects in elite tombs from the 10th century BCE and after (Duploux, 2006: 151–83). But it is particularly marked by developments in the Hellenistic and Roman period. Alongside the collection of original works from earlier cultures and contexts (not only archaic, Classical Greek and Hellenistic art, but also Egyptian and Middle Eastern works), went a rich process of copying and emulation that created many new objects in a variety of distinct old styles and forms, particularly during the Roman Empire. The focus in this volume is on

material culture and especially on portable works of art. But at the heart of the collecting of objects at any time is an instinct to value certain items of the present or the past, from one's own culture or from another's, as well as to select and display them in contexts to which such exhibition adds lustre. That impetus to select, put together, display and curate – with all its significance for social memory, for creating identity in relation to a chosen set of pasts, for framing the conceptual environment of modernity at any given time – is broader than simply the collection of objects.

In this brief Afterword to the book, I wish to make two moves beyond the traditional history of collecting artefacts in antiquity. First, I shall place that process alongside the collection of texts, as part of the same impulse within both the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The collecting of objects is the material instantiation of processes of thought and classification, as well as the variety of ideological moves such processes determine, that are equally demonstrated (if in somewhat different ways perhaps) by the compilation and selecting of texts. Second, I shall suggest that in addition to being a significant engine for social and cultural self-definition within antiquity, the processes and methods of ancient collecting form a fundamental frame for our own understanding of the ancient world. I shall argue that collecting is not merely an important ontological fact of how antiquity was, but a vital epistemological frame for how we grasp antiquity today.

The nexus of selection, classification, display and aesthetic value which our evidence for ancient collecting reveals – with all the ideological freight that these procedures carry – is no less true of texts (poems, histories, natural histories) and epigraphic documents. These too were collected, copied, selected, classified and anthologized for display in papyrus rolls and later codices, in ways parallel to the collecting of objects, by elite collectors within the same social sphere as those who focused on works of material culture. Effectively, one may argue that one of the ways that the ancient world functioned was by a constant re-appropriation of the panoply of its pasts (literary and material) made canonical, replicated, taxonomised, reinvented throughout the Hellenistic and Roman eras. The numerous florilegia, anthologies, collections of table-talk – in effect, the disparate antiquarianism of Hellenistic and Roman literary culture in both

Greek and Latin – are the textual correlate of the collections of objects. Moreover, texts in antiquity are no less material-cultural than other forms of object, since they had to be painstakingly selected, epitomized and copied on papyrus rolls just as earlier works of art were collected and copied in paint, mosaic, marble or bronze. They came, as rolls and later as codices, to sit in those very specific collections known as libraries, some (like that in the House of the Papyri at Herculaneum) belonging to private individuals but many with a more public role (König, Oikonomopoulou & Woolf, 2013). Indeed, libraries in antiquity were prime sites for the display of art (Pergamon: Conqueugniot, 2013; Roma: Petrain, 2013).

Ancient Collections and the Ordering of Knowledge

Collections, as a series of material embodiments of the past, selected, set out in a particular order, labelled, rearranged over the years, form a lived-conceptual frame in three-dimensions for the people whom they surround. In this sense they instantiate the orders of knowledge that at given times dominate and structure the attitudes and concerns of a population. Much work has been done in recent years on ancient knowledge – its relations with power, its forms of classification, its structuring of social thought (e.g. Barton, 1994; König & Whitmarsh, 2007). Notably, the models for structuring thought in a large polity like the Roman Empire have both global and local varieties, which different emphases and different gestures of ancestralism (empire-wide knowledge: Murphy, 2004: 49–73; local knowledge: Whitmarsh, 2010). Significantly, the different pressures on the ordering of knowledge in cosmopolitan and local contexts, with different centripetal and centrifugal drives, gave rise to a culture of scholarly and commentarial writing, of florilegia and anthologies, of dictionaries and encyclopaedias from the establishment of the Mouseion in Alexandria through to the middle ages and beyond (encyclopaedism: König & Woolf, 2013). The modern scholarship on this process has not sufficiently seen material culture, and in particular the history of collecting, as the three-dimensional equivalent of the same patterns of taxonomy and classification, governed within the royal, oligarchic and imperial contexts of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, by the same drives and desires. Yet it is the case not only that public collecting and display operated under closely parallel conceptual constraints such that public libraries and public space for viewing art are parallel models of artistic munificence in

the late Republic and early Empire (Nicholls, 2013), but that its reach and dissemination to the populace went way beyond that of texts in a culture of limited literacy. A good example of a collection functioning within Roman antiquity as a tool-kit for the creation of new replicas and versions, is the clear evidence of the imperial Mint in Roma possessing a collection of Republican coins which were closely copied in the imperial period (Gallia, 2012: 222–4). One of the things ancient collections taught, simply through the experience of living among them, was a paradigm of how thinking itself was structured.

The range of agendas to which collecting could be put was as large as the range of ideological drives that governed the ancient world. These include the fabrication of false memories (such as the link between Gudea and Adad-nadin-ahhe) and the servicing of parochial claims (for instance, those of every Classical and Hellenistic polis) – both of these models in potential resistance to the pressures of a larger centralizing hegemonic power. The selective strategies of the centre itself were no less varied. The great Greek foundation of Alexandria displayed prime Egyptian antiquities from Pharaonic times in a collection arranged around the famous lighthouse (e.g. McKenzie, 2007: 43–5), making a claim that was simultaneously about multiculturalism in a kingdom that looked both to Greek and to ancient Egyptian culture, and about the dominance of old Egypt by the Makedonian Ptolemaioi. The Roman state's extraordinary emphasis on the display of Greek and to some extent Egyptian art in its capital city, as well as remarkable quantities of high-quality imitations of these styles and forms, went alongside what appears to be a systematic reluctance to collect or display Iberian, Punic, Gallic or Germanic objects. The absence stresses firmly where cultural priorities lay within the empire. Collecting not only preserved and invented memory within specific contexts (from an individual's collection to those of cities and capitals), but also allowed experiments in hybridity and assimilation – for instance in the arts of Hellenistic Kommagene in Asia Minor which not only look East to Persia and West to a world fast becoming dominated by the Roman Empire, but announce this mingling in an intriguing inscription of Antiokhos 1, which orders statues and reliefs to be made 'according to the ancient *logos* of Greeks and Persians – blessed roots of my clan' (Dittenberger, 1903: vol. 1, 597, no. 383, line 30). In texts, multilingualism (for instance the inscriptions on the Rosetta stone, see e.g. Parkinson, 2005) and translation (such as the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into the Greek *Septuagint*, see Rajak, 2009) are parallel models for this kind of hybridizing transmission.

Within the cultural life of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, the ancient urban was effectively an agglutination of collections. The vast corpus of ancient epigraphy (of which the Lindian list discussed in J. Shaya's chapter 2 is just the most famous example to deal specifically with a collection of votive objects) is itself a series of selective cullings of laws, decrees, honorific pronouncements and the like, copied and exhibited for public display across the civic and sacred spaces of the Greek and Roman worlds. The mass of honorific statues which packed the ancient city, and some of whose bases still survive, formed – over time – a collection of honoured dignitaries whose civic contributions could be read as a history of the city, arranged across its porticoes and public spaces (see Stewart, 2003; Ma, 2013). In the urban topographies of the ancient world, these collections of monumental writing and statuary created an ideological frame, a sense of ancestral and historical identity, a competitive challenge to the elites of the present to match their forebears in public generosity. One of the ways Hellenistic cities in particular, from about 260 BCE to the Roman takeover, declared and advertised the sacred inviolability of their temple sanctuaries was to make collections of decrees (both their own and ones solicited from other polities) and to inscribe them on prime sites. The largest surviving such archive is from the perimeter wall of the *agora* of Magnesia on the Maiandros in Asia Minor by the Temple of Artemis, dating to about 208. The collection includes documents from many other cities (including ancient poleis like Athenai and Argos, and new foundations like Antiokheia), from groupings such as the Boiotian or Akhaian leagues, and from such monarchs as Antiokhos III, Ptolemaios IV and Attalos I (Rigsby, 1996: 179–279).

In this sense, public collecting of inscriptions and of statues by a civic polity (a collective operating over many lifetimes, not a single patron or individual), alongside such attendant practices as the replication, framing, juxtaposition of culled objects as well as their display, was a fundamental agent of social integration and hence of imperial control through the competitive self-regulation of elites. This was true of the major capitals like Roma, Antiokheia, Alexandria and ultimately Constantinopolis, and in less cosmopolitan but still proud provincial cities (like Magnesia) across the breadth of the Hellenistic kingdoms and later the Roman Empire. It allowed a claim to, and the celebration of, a universal, shared culture (all those statues of roughly the same formal types, all those papyrus rolls in the city library). But this was combined with an insistence both on personal distinction (especially in the use of individualized portraiture in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as well as of dedicatory inscriptions)

and on localism, in which precious items from the past or elsewhere became identified with a given place of storage and display, and the majority of inscriptions and images celebrated local notables.

Within this urban space – an open-air theme park of local identity within the larger culture – more temporary collections, such as the display of items in a Roman triumph (Miles, 2008: 55–60 and Östenberg, 2009: 19–127, 189–98) or the selection of statues carried in a sacred procession (Rogers, 1991: 80–126 on Ephesos), varied the process with something analogous to modern exhibitions within a museum's permanent displays. In other words, the manipulation of varieties of juxtapositions of display objects – at different times and in specific contexts – created a sophisticated structure offering multiple levels of signification through the temporary disposition of displays. On an individual scale, lavish collecting by elite aristocrats in private villas (although access to these may have been less restricted than the modern terminology of 'private' implies) was the counterpart to the culture of civic collection. The Roman aspects of this theme are well discussed in chapter 7 by Alessandra Lazzeretti for the late Republic and Lea Stirling for Late Antiquity in chapter 13. But it is worth stressing, in relation to the remarkable collection of statues found in the villa at Chiragan in Gallia, the longevity of some of these villa displays. Apart from its spectacular Late Antique mythological sculpture, tondi and copies after Greek masterpieces, Chiragan possessed a series of imperial portraits from Augustus to the late emperors, many of which must have been collected in the early and middle Empire, and some of which appear to have been restored in antiquity. Just as civic collections rearranged and looked after their older works (which included some recycling and demolition), so the villa collections in the hands of families did much the same with their heirlooms (Bergmann, 1999: 26–44, 68–70).

Collecting and the Constraints of Empirical Knowledge

Alongside what may be described as an engine for social cohesion and change within antiquity, ancient collecting was one of the key mechanisms that created the body of empirical data, which has come down to us as students of the past. That is, our knowledge of antiquity – of the archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique worlds within antiquity – is in large part the result of that process of collecting within the ancient world itself. What was selected and excluded, preserved and destroyed by deliberate ideological choice as well as by the fallibilities

of temporal happenstance, among both texts and material objects, is the basis on which we form both our knowledge and our arguments about the Greek and Roman past. It is key of course that this form of knowledge (what one might call the ancient selection) is supplemented by some evidence for what the ancients did not select (such as the wide range of objects and texts preserved in the lava of Vesuvius) or actively discarded (such as the remarkable range of texts of all kinds found in the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchos or reused as mummy cartonage).

The diverse elements of the ancient collections that did survive into the Middle Ages were then subject to radically different forms of transmission and preservation in the post-antique period, with survivals and losses often dependent on pure whimsy or chance, but also on the very different criteria brought to the ancient past by such various recipients of the ancient collections as Western monks; Byzantine collectors, librarians and churchmen; Syriac, Armenian and Abbasid translators. My argument here will be that – alongside the great significance of collecting within antiquity as a social and cultural process, so well illuminated by the many and very different discussions in this volume – the phenomenon of especially Hellenistic and Roman collecting as an ideological selection and a classificatory system for creating a variety of canons, what we might call a process of Classicism (Elsner, 2006), is a fundamental empirical and epistemological constraint for us as modern students of the past, as we try to understand the ancient world.

Let us take a few key cases. First, the proposition has been advanced that the whole city of Roma came to function as a living museum for its populace throughout antiquity. Its collections demonstrated imperial dominion (from the spoils of war to the donations of subjects), their orchestration mapping social identity and the (innovative, at any rate in Augustan and Julio-Claudian times) ideological narrative of an empire ruled by its principate (Rutledge, 2012). That argument was founded on an extraordinary gathering of objects (old and new, especially from the East of the empire as well as from the deep past) and of buildings – temples, *fora*, *porticus* – in which to display them, constructed by a long litany of Republican grandees followed by generations of emperors whose grandiose projects in architecture, display and urban planning were in competition with both their contemporaries and their predecessors. A good example, both in its attempt to surpass the past and as a cardinal model for posterity in demanding to be surpassed in its own right, was the Forum of Augustus. This was magnificent celebration of the victorious revenge for Iulius Caesar, in the Temple of Mars Ultor, which offered a radical ideo-

logical narrative of the dynastic house of Caesar, as well as the earlier *summi viri* of Roma, through its made-to-order collection of marble statues, with their inscribed *tituli* (Zanker, 1968 and Geiger, 2008). These statues entered the structure of daily life for the urban populace, becoming markers for assignations and meetings, familiar landmarks in the lived environment. We know from legal documents found in Herculaneum and Pompeii, for example, that lawyers and bankers used specific statues in the Forum of Augustus as meeting points at given times on given days, with the statue's inscription functioning as if it were a room number (Neudecker, 2010: 166–9). While the Forum of Augustus used statues to stake its claims to history, later versions of imperial panegyric, added as monumental adornments to the urban collection, embellished their argument with a still greater range of visual means. The columns of Traianus and Marcus, for instance, are not only exceptional statue bases (which an elite citizen could climb with permission) but also complex visual narratives extolling the military glory of both the ruler – standing resplendent at the top – and his state.

Alongside these kinds of material-cultural developments of ideological claims, coupled with visual encomium, established in marble and bronze by such developments as the Imperial Fora, went what may be called a series of textual catalogues. We know, for instance, that in the early Hellenistic period Krateros of Makedonia wrote down the early decrees of Athenai (Carawan, 2014, with bibliography). His text does not survive but its contents (or decrees derived from it) were frequently cited in the imperial period and later – by such as Ploutarkhos, Pollux and the scholiasts of Aristophanes. Whether Krateros' book consisted of a direct transcription of the decrees as they were epigraphically preserved, or a version of what he found in an archive that itself included material commemorated in inscriptions, or a selective collection from these sources, it was a Hellenistic compendium of what had originally been a material-cultural collection that came to frame the empirical access of posterity to the history of archaic and Classical Athenai. Likewise, the Republican antiquarian Lucius Cincius wrote down a (now lost) account of monuments and notably old inscriptions on the Capitol, which would serve as the basis for later accounts of ancient Roman *realien* for authors such as Livius (Wiseman, 1979: 45–6; Gallia, 2012: 62–3). Clearly, to turn to a surviving source conceived on a much grander scale, Plinius' *naturalis historia* – inflected of course by a powerful Flavian (which is also an anti-Neronian) agenda – casts nature as a whole within a taxonomy of empire centred on Roma, so that the history of art, for instance,

becomes a theme largely presentable through the Roman collections (Murphy, 2004: 194–216 on monuments; Carey, 2003 and Bounia, 2004: 173–220 on art).¹ Many of the texts (especially the poetry) produced in the city of Roma and for the consumption of its inhabitants are obsessed with the range and richness of its material culture and with how to interpret and to view it (Jenkyns, 2013, with earlier bibliography). As far as Greece is concerned, the extraordinary description in 10 books by Pausanias, written in the mid-2nd century CE – self-consciously antiquarian and selective, deliberately focused on religious sanctuaries and works of art in a myth-historical topography set in the pre-Roman past – has proved modernity's most important access-point not only to the material and spatial world of ancient Greece but to its anthropology, archaeology, religion and art (see the papers in Elsner, 2010, with references). An early and poetic example of this kind of textual record, reserved for the less public context of a Hellenistic royal court, is Poseidippos' series of epigrams on gems discussed here by Evelyne Prioux in chapter 5.

From the epistemological point of view, what matters is that this material construction and its embedding in the textual pattern of responses to the monuments – as well as the parallel process of selecting a chosen canon of poetic, philosophical, rhetorical and historical texts – underlie both our archaeological and our literary-historical frames for thinking about the ancient world in modernity. While the means and processes of selection were not the same – for instance, whole objects were collected (though statues not always with their bases) but often excerpts from texts rather than whole books, with different patterns of copying in relation to material culture and writing, the cultural drive to define the present through a canonizing classification of the past is key, and became the prism through which our own experience of antiquity is made possible. Roma, for instance, was a series of self-made cultural constructs (as empire, as city, as a civilization) whose taxonomy of choices about what to exclude from and include within its collection of ideologically sanctioned objects and texts (vitiating from our standpoint of course always by the whimsy of survivals and losses) determined a series

of claims mounted by material and literary culture which were always apologetic or panegyric in relation to the current regime and often polemical against its precursor. It is these ideological claims (much more than facts or truths about the past) that our empirical evidence allows us to study. That evidence is by no means even or equal at different points in the chronological trajectory. In part, the '3rd-century crisis' is a crisis in the amount of empirical data (both material-cultural and textual) that has come down to us. This lack of data may equate to a blight in creativity and production, which may indicate economic or social crisis (as has frequently been assumed), or it may be little more than an unfortunate blip, the result of the happenstance of survival, whose effects we can too easily exaggerate, or it may be the result of a cultural shift in forms of commemoration which transformed patterns of dedication and construction (see Borg, 2013: 1–6 and Borg, 2014).

But when the collection, its displays and its representations, come to change – for instance, notably in late antiquity and again in the upsurge of excavation during and after the Renaissance – scholarship has tended to mark significant moments within the traditional historical narrative. That is, we tend to read history out of the emblems of material culture that antiquity itself mustered to bolster its ideological claims. Thus, for instance, a measure of Roma's decline in Late Antiquity can be taken from the account in Prokopios' book on the Gothic Wars, completed in the 550s, of the sack of Roma by the Vandal King Geiseric in 455 (e.g. Rutledge, 2012: 211; on Roma as a monumental museum through Late Antiquity, see Behrwald, 2009). The Vandals 'spared neither bronze nor anything else whatsoever in the palace . . . [and] plundered also the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, and tore off half the roof' (Prokopios, *hyper ton polemon lagoi* [*peri ton gotthikon polemon*] iii.5,3–5). This may be true. But it may be no more than a rhetorical trope, produced at the flourish of a pen 100 years after the event, that reverses the long narrative of filling Roma up with the booty of conquered cities so as to make the rhetorical point of the city's decline, a necessary preparation for the return of a triumphant Roman emperor in the form of Prokopios' own patron, Iustinianus I. It certainly carries the elegant frisson that the new barbarians are Christians sacking the pagan temples! If it is the case that the Vandals did denude Roma, then the impetus will have been to adorn their own capital of Carthago according to a trope borrowed from Constantinus' establishment of Constantinopolis and ultimately from the practices which had turned Roma itself into a museum.

¹ Ancient collecting was of course only partially inflected by imperial ordering; it also reflected other cultural drives not necessarily due to empire, such as an interest in man-made and natural wonders, the predisposition to give canonical authority to certain chosen ancient cultures (notably Greece and Egypt) in preference to others, the civic urge to localist ancestralism in both history and myth.

Late Antiquity: Ancient Collecting and the *Longue Durée*

The coming of a new Christian dispensation to the Roman Empire in late antiquity – which went along with the shift of capital to Constantinople – brought a fundamental revision of collecting strategies. The pragmatic need to pack the new city with worthy monuments was coupled with a decisive ideological impetus, borrowed from earlier Roman depredations of sacred images but on a much greater scale, that deprived cult statues or ancient votives of any religious significance and replaced this with antiquarian or aesthetic value (on ancient restitutions of stolen sacred images, see Lapatin, 2010; on aesthetics and collecting as well as religion in the ancient temple, see Platt, 2010). The result was a new model of both spoliation (on a grand scale) and collecting, the integrated reuse of earlier fragments in new contexts, the demolition or destructive intervention in old artistic schemes and groups too redolent of ancient religion with its tinctures of what came to be identified as idolatry or demonic possession. The processes of collecting, preserving and displaying antiquities – now largely pagan antiquities, but also the material mnemonic of the glorious past of the empire – took varieties of sometimes contradictory forms in different Christian contexts. In many cases – not least the Athenian Parthenon (Kaldellis, 2009) or the ancient monuments of Hierapolis in Phrygia during the Byzantine period (Thonemann, 2012) – remarkable levels of antiquarian appreciation and care were taken with the remains of the past. But equally there are numerous instances of destruction, some conducted with great care in relation to specific elements (such as genitals and frontal ‘idols’) by Christians largely keen to preserve the bulk of a prestigious monument (e.g. Smith, 2012 on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias) and some wholesale. The fates of the ancient collections, reinvented and recalibrated as Late Antique collections in a Christian dispensation, were thus very diverse in different parts of the old empire, between East and West and between former centres and provinces in these areas. That range of different effects reflects the variety and conflict of responses to the pagan ancestral past within Christendom from celebration to vituperative assault.

Among the changes in collecting practice, as noted by Sarah Bassett’s essay, is a move to a status of very high esteem for relics from the later 4th century. It would not be true to say that there was no culture of relics in pre-Christian antiquity, but metonymic mementos of heroes and great men had no specially privileged status by com-

parison with other kinds of votives and dedications (pre-Christian relic-culture: Pfister, 1909 and 1912; Hartmann, 2010; Neri, 2010; Osborne, 2010). What happened in late antiquity is wonderfully emblemized by the shift from Constantine being commemorated among the relief sculptures celebrating his imperial predecessors on his Arch in Rome to his burial among the relics of Christian saints in his Mausoleum in Constantinople (Elsner, 2000). The shift is less about a new kind of antiquity, unknown in the past, than about a transformation in the order of knowledge where the tangible remains of holy men and women in a sacred tradition of no significance in the pagan world came to occupy as much importance as miracle-working *xoana* or cult images in antiquity, and to be valued (through immensely expensive golden, ivory and jewelled containers) at a level at least as grand as the most sumptuous imperial votive dedications of earlier times. Yet the fact remains that – no less than the shrines of ancient polytheism, packed as they were with votives and precious objects – the major sacred centres of Christianity and, later, of early Islam would be equally crammed with sacred dedications and valuable offerings from across the known world (Islam: Aga-Oglu, 1954: 180–90).

Alongside the changes in the collection of, and esteem for, material culture went a parallel systematic process of re-evaluating and re-anthologizing the ancient literary texts (Wilson, 1983; Reynolds and Wilson, 1991: 44–121). For instance, what survives of ancient Greek history is what interested the Byzantines – resulting in the preservation of a strong corpus of Classical and Roman history with a focus on regime change, and the corresponding loss of almost all local or antiquarian history-writing, as well as much of the historiography of the Hellenistic world (Kaldellis, 2012). The significant epistemological point, for us, is that what we have received as the ancient canon is the product of a Byzantine re-evaluation, preservation and binning exercise on the inherited pre-Christian collections of historical texts made for the libraries and school rooms of Hellenistic and Roman antiquity. The re-classification, as itself a new collecting exercise, of the ancient collection is what has fundamentally determined the surviving canon that has come down to us. Precisely the same may be said of the transmission of philosophy (for instance the survival of Platon and Plotinos, but the loss of all Aristoteles’ finished dialogues), the selection of drama – not only the specific plays by the three canonical tragedians but the oblivion of all plays by anyone else, and the vanishing of the whole corpus of new comedy, including the works of such famed masters as Menandros, of the preservation of poetry (which in general proved a disaster

for Hellenistic poets but better for Classical ones, successful for the Homeric epics, dreadful for the Theban cycle) and so on. In all these cases, and others, the canonical collections of pre-Byzantine antiquity (such as those made by Krateros and Cincius, Plinius and Pausanias) proved themselves the base for the further selection, which has determined our knowledge of Classics.

The shifts in both the collecting of objects and the selection of texts in relation to the antique past within the Christian dispensation, are themselves a small element of a much bigger process in late antiquity, which may itself be described in part in terms of collections. It has recently been argued that the towering textual monuments of the first millennium CE were the great scriptural compendia – the Christian Bible (including the Old Testament) and the Qur'an – alongside the monumental legal collections such as the Talmud or Iustinianus I's *Corpus of civil law* (Fowden, 2013: 166–97). If one wished to reach further afield, one might add that within this period and as an exactly parallel process are the compilations of other major textual

religious canons (notably by the Zoroastrians under Islamic rule, and by the adherents of the Indian religions – Buddhists, Jains, Hindus). Collecting in this sense, now focused especially on the establishment of what have come to be regarded as the world religions (in part *because* they possess canonical compilations of written scriptures, alongside the complex of commentary and exegesis that goes with scripture), is one of the prime achievements of late antiquity and the early middle ages, seen in more global perspective than only the inheritance of the old Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Our antiquity – both the texts and the material fragments which survive from the cull and the *florilegium* conducted by the Middle Ages – is not only the result of that process but can only be dimly glimpsed through the many conceptual veils constructed by the medieval collection.

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Index A. Ancient Texts Cited or Mentioned

1	Epigraphical		
		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1424 A.386–7	27
		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1425.87–90	27
<i>AEpig</i> 1916, 96	77	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1445.22–24	27
<i>AEpig</i> 1984, 34	77	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1471.60	27
<i>AEpig</i> 1991, 211a	74	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1514.27–28	27
<i>AEpig</i> 1996, 100a–b	77	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A	27
		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A.1–5	25
<i>CIG</i> ii 3555	53	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A.60–72	27
<i>CIG</i> iv 7298	69	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A.68–69	27
<i>CIL</i> i ² 60774		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A.72–116	27
<i>CIL</i> vi 28474		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1534 A.125–127	27
<i>CIL</i> vi 38574		<i>IG</i> ii ² 1539	26
<i>CIL</i> vi 386	74	<i>IG</i> ii ² 1543 B.18	26
<i>CIL</i> vi 1708 = 31906 = 41318	75	<i>IG</i> ii ² 839	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 10243	124	<i>IG</i> iv 39	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 10324	75	<i>IG</i> vii 2420–2425	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 29805	77	<i>IG</i> vii 2425a	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 36968	77	<i>IG</i> vii 303	25, 26
<i>CIL</i> vi 41344a	77	<i>IG</i> xii 5 1.134	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 41394	77	<i>IG</i> xii 6 1.261	25
<i>CIL</i> vi 41416	77	<i>IG</i> xii 6 1.261.9	26
<i>CIL</i> viii 6981	25	<i>IG</i> xii 8 51	25
<i>CIL</i> viii 6981–6982	75	<i>IG</i> xiv 148*	74
<i>CIL</i> viii 12496	75		
<i>CIL</i> ix 1588	77	<i>IGUR</i> 1586	74
<i>CIL</i> x 5349	77		
<i>CIL</i> xiv 2082	77	<i>ILindos</i> 2	28
<i>CIL</i> xiv 2215	75	<i>ILindos</i> 2 A	30
		<i>ILindos</i> 2 A.9–10	28
<i>IDélos</i> ii 442 B	26	<i>ILindos</i> 2 B.8	29
<i>IDélos</i> ii 1400	120	<i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10	29
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1417	119–23	<i>ILindos</i> 2 C.27	29
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1426	120–22	<i>ILindos</i> 2 C.30–31	24
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1438	120	<i>ILindos</i> 2 C.31	30
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1442	120–22	<i>ILindos</i> 2 C.37	29
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1443	120–22	<i>ILindos</i> 2 D.30–31	29
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1446.24	120	<i>ILindos</i> 487.8	29
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1449	120		
<i>IDélos</i> iii 1450	26	<i>Ilion</i> 151	25
<i>IDélos</i> vii 104.1–7	26		
		<i>ILLRP</i> 118	74
<i>IDidyima</i> 260	31		
<i>IDidyima</i> 424	31	<i>ILS</i> 11	74
<i>IDidyima</i> 424–25	31	<i>ILS</i> 88	74
<i>IDidyima</i> 462	31	<i>ILS</i> 95	74
<i>IDidyima</i> 463	31	<i>ILS</i> 548	77
<i>IDidyima</i> 465	31	<i>ILS</i> 1222	75
<i>IDidyima</i> 466	31	<i>ILS</i> 4423	75
<i>IDidyima</i> 467–69	31	<i>ILS</i> 5480	77
<i>IDidyima</i> 470	31	<i>ILS</i> 7213	75
<i>IDidyima</i> 471	31		
		<i>IPergamon</i> 20	52
<i>IG</i> i ² 280 26		<i>IPergamon</i> 21–28	53
<i>IG</i> i ³ 292–362	25	<i>IPergamon</i> 47	49
<i>IG</i> i ³ 1456 25		<i>IPergamon</i> 47–49	49
<i>IG</i> ii ² 839 25, 26		<i>IPergamon</i> 48–49	49
<i>IG</i> ii ² 138826		<i>IPergamon</i> 50	49
<i>IG</i> ii ² 1414.25	27	<i>IPergamon</i> 135–37	51
<i>IG</i> ii ² 1424 A.46–47	27	<i>IPergamon</i> 138	51

<i>IPergamon</i> 198	53	Aphrikanos [Sextos Ioulios], <i>khronographiai</i> F46	
<i>IPergamon</i> 199	53	(citing Manethon)	23
<i>IPergamon</i> 200	53	Apollinaris Sidonius [Gaius Sollius], <i>epistulae</i>	
<i>IPergamon</i> 201	53	i.7, 8	139
<i>IPergamon</i> 202	53	Appianos [of Alexandria], <i>Mithridatika</i>	
<i>IPergamon</i> 203	53	116–17	2
		Aristoteles, <i>Nikomakhea ethika</i>	47
<i>IPerge</i> 11: 99.2	25	1337b–1338b	
		Arkhestratos [of Gela], <i>hedypatheia</i> (in Athenaios,	
<i>IThesp</i> 38	25	<i>deipnosophistai</i> i.4e–5a)	35–36
		Asklepiades of Samos, epigrammata (in <i>anthologia</i>	
<i>OGIS</i> 241/40	52	<i>palatina</i> ix.752)	66, 67
<i>OGIS</i> 269	52	Athenaios [of Naukratis], <i>deipnosophistai</i>	10
<i>OGIS</i> 281	49	i.4e–5a (Arkhestratos)	35–36
		iv.2g–.5g	48
<i>SEG</i> 26: 139	31	v.58b (Herakleides of Syrakousai)	35
<i>SEG</i> 39: 1334	50	v.196a–197d (Kallixeinos)	47, 111, 123
<i>SEG</i> 43: 212 B	25	v.196a–203b (Kallixeinos)	3, 10, 41–42
		v.203b–c (Kallixeinos)	41–42
		v.203e–209e	43
		xiii.574c (Polemon)	30
		xiii.604f–605a (Theopompos)	38
2 Literary (including papyrological)		<i>Atrahasis</i> (story of the flood)	21
<i>acta triumphorum</i> (in Plinius, <i>naturalis historia</i>)	105	Ausonius [Decimus Magnus], <i>epigrammata</i>	143
Addaios, epigrammata (in <i>anthologia palatina</i>)	55–58, 64–66		
Ailianos [Klaudios], <i>peri zoon ideotetos</i>		Berosos, <i>Babyloniaka</i> (in Iosepos, <i>peri arkhaiotetos</i>	
v.39	55	<i>loudaion logos</i> i, Eusebios, <i>pantodape historia</i> i	
<i>poikile historia</i>		(<i>khronikoi kanones</i>).1–2 and other texts; Jacoby,	
xiv.17	47	1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: 680;	
Akhilleus Tatios, <i>Ta kata Leukippen kai Kleitophonta</i>	16	Müller, 1841–70: ii.495)	23
Amenope, see <i>onomastikon of Amenope</i>			
<i>anthologia graeca</i>	55–57, 69	Catullus [Gaius Valerius], <i>carmina</i>	6
xvi.345	149	<i>chronicon paschale</i>	
<i>anthologia palatina</i>	15, 16, 58, 150	528	150
vi.171	40	533	152
vii.15	53	542	152
vii.305 (Addaios of Mytilene)	56	563	152
vii.633 (Krinagoras)	65	564	152
ix.58 (Antipatros of Sidon)	43	569	152–53
ix.205	69	570	153
ix.221 (Marcus Argentarius)	58, 67	571	153
ix.235 (Krinagoras)	65	572	152, 154
ix.541–562	56	Cicero [Marcus Tullius],	
ix.544 (Addaios)	55, 56	<i>ad Atticum</i> [<i>epistulae ad Atticum</i>]	
ix.545 (Krinagoras)	65	i.1,5	98
ix.547	56	i.5,7	98
ix.746 (“King Polemon”)	69	i.8,2	98
ix.746–751	67	i.9,2	98
ix.748 (Platon the Younger)	67	i.10,3	97, 98,
ix.752 (Asklepiades of Samos or Antipatros of			121
Thessalonike)	66, 67	ii.2	85
ix.775 (Diodoros the Younger)	68	ii.2,2	82
xi.38 (“King Polemon”)	69	ii.4	99
<i>anthologia planudea</i>	57, 66, 69	iii.20	92
Antigonos [of Karystos] (in Plinius, <i>naturalis historia</i>		iv.1–4	92
xxxiv.84)	43, 50, 130–31	iv.10,1	99
		v.2	85
Antipatros [of Sidon], epigrammata		vi.2,3	82
(in <i>anthologia palatina</i> ix.58)	43	vii.3,2	99
Antipatros [of Thessalonike], epigrammata		x.13,1	63
(in <i>anthologia palatina</i> ix.752)	66, 67	xi.24,3	97
		xi.25,3	97
		xi.45,3	92

xii.4	82	ii.1,57	92
xii.10	99	ii.1,58	95
xii.32,2	99	ii.1,58–59	95
xiii.29,1	97	ii.1,61	92, 93, 94
xiii.40	132	ii.1,103–158	92
xvi.3	82	ii.2,83–118	95
<i>ad familiares</i> [<i>epistolae ad familiares</i>]		ii.3,9	92, 93, 95
vii.23	85, 87	ii.3,23	94
vii.23,1	97, 99	ii.3,56	94
vii.23,3	110, 118	ii.4	87
xii.25,1	99	ii.4,1	123
<i>ad Quintum fratrem</i> [<i>epistolae ad Quintum fratrem</i>]		ii.4,1–18	44
iii.1,4	99	ii.4,3	5, 92
<i>Brutus</i>		ii.4,3–4	129
24	99	ii.4,3–6	52
70	118	ii.4,6	92
318	95	ii.4,11	97
<i>Cato maior</i>		ii.4,17	93
45–46	107	ii.4,36	92, 95
<i>de divinatione</i>		ii.4,37	100, 103
i.8	98	ii.4,38	103
<i>de domo sua</i>		ii.4,44–52	84
62	101	ii.4,54	39, 93
92	100	ii.4,58	92
103	99	ii.4,59–60	49
116	99	ii.4,60–71	100
133	101	ii.4,71	93
144	99, 100	ii.4,73	83
<i>de finibus</i>		ii.4,122	3
ii.23	102	ii.4,123	3, 83
<i>de lege agraria</i>		ii.4,124	94
ii.68	95	ii.4,126	92, 129
<i>de legibus</i>		ii.4,127	11, 94
ii.42	99	ii.4,129	94
iii.30	104	ii.4,140	75
<i>de officiis</i>		ii.5,44	92
i.57	95	ii.5,127	92
i.93–151	93	ii.5,145	83
i.138–139	83	<i>Philippicae</i>	
i.139	107	ii.24,58	63
ii.76	44	ii.24,61	63
<i>de oratore</i>		<i>pro Plancio</i>	
110	99	73	99
<i>de re publica</i>		<i>pro Sexto Roscio Amerino</i>	
ii.67	98	133	93
vi.1	98	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>	
<i>in Verrem</i> [<i>actionis in Caium Verrem secundae libri</i>]		i.77	82
ii.1,7	93	iii.7	97–98
ii.1,12	92	iii.29	97–98
ii.1,21	7	v.101–102	87
ii.1,38	92	<i>codex Theodosianus</i>	
ii.1,41–102	91	viii.5,15	142
ii.1,45–54	93	x.2,1	140
ii.1,45	93	x.20,2	140
ii.1,46	93	xiii.8	142
ii.1,49	93, 95	xvi.10,15	76
ii.1,50	92, 93		
ii.1,51	92, 93, 94	Damastes [of Sigeion] (ascribed to) <i>peri goneon kai</i>	
ii.1,52	93	<i>progonon ton eis Ilion strateusamenon</i> (cited in	
ii.1,53	93, 94, 95	<i>souda lexikon</i> delta, 41; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New</i>	
ii.1,54	92, 93, 95	<i>Jacoby Online</i> , 2014: 5 T 1)	80
ii.1,55–57	12	<i>digesta Iustiniani Augusti</i> , see Iustinianus I	

Dio [Cocceianus] Cassius, <i>historia Romana</i> (<i>Rhomaïke historia</i>)		<i>Genesis</i>	
xvii.5	99	vi.19–20	20
xxxix.37,2	96	x–xi	20
xxxix.37,2–3	96	<i>Gilgamesh</i> (<i>epic of</i>)	21
xxxix.37,3	96	Gorgon, <i>peri Rhodou</i> (in <i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10)	
xxxix.37,4	96	i	29
xl.41,3	66	<i>Greek papyri in the British Museum</i> (P. Lond.)	
xliv.28	63	iii.755 v	76
l.5,3	64	<i>Harkhuf</i> (<i>letter of</i>)	19
li.21,8	65	Hegesias, <i>Rhodos enkomios</i> (in <i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10)	29
liv.2,3	107	Hellankos of Lesbos, <i>barbarika nomima</i> (cited in	
lix.25,1	102	Eusebios, <i>praeparatio evangelica</i> [<i>evangelike</i>	
lx.25,2–3	75	<i>proparaskeue</i>] ix.13; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New</i>	
lxi.10,3	103	<i>Jacoby Online</i> , 2014: F 4 T 72)	80
lxv.3,1–2	105	Herakleides [of Pontos], <i>peri ton</i>	
lxv.3,3	105	<i>Pythagoreion kai peri eurematon</i> (cited in Diogenes,	
lxxviii.7	2	<i>bioi</i> v.6,88)	80
Diodoros [Sikeliotēs], [<i>bibliothēke historikē</i>]		Herakleides [of Syrakousai] (in Athenaios,	
xi.25,3	34	<i>deipnosophistai</i> ii.58b)	35
xiii.81,4–13.84,5	34	Herodas, see Herondas	
xiii.90,3	9, 34	Herodotos, [<i>historiai</i>]	
xvi.33,2	39	i.1	80
xvi.56,3–6	38	i.50–51	30
xvi.57,2–3	35	ii.182	30
xvii.65,5	39	iii.47	30
xvii.66.1,2	39	Herondas, [<i>mimiamboi</i>]	
xvii.70–71,2	39	iv	3, 16, 48, 52
xix.46	39	iv.20–81	109
Diogenes [Laertios], <i>bioi kai gnomai ton en philosophia</i> <i>eudokimesanton</i>		iv.23–34	31
v.6,88 (citing works of Herakleides of Pontos)	80	iv.54–56	31
Dionysios [of Halikarnassos], <i>Rhomaïke arkhaiologia</i>		iv.75–79	31
xx.13	107	Hieronymus [Eusebius Sophronius (St. Jerome)],	
Douris [of Samos] (in Plinius, <i>naturalis historia</i>		<i>chronicon</i> (or <i>temporum liber</i>)	
xxxiv–xxxvi; Müller, 1841–70: ii.466–88; Jacoby,		324	149
1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby Online</i> , 2014: 2A.1136–1158)	43, 50	Hippias [of Elis], <i>ethnon onomasiāi</i> (cited in an	
<i>enuma ilum awilum</i> , see <i>Atrahasis</i>		anonymous scholion on Apollonios of Rhodos,	
Eudemos, <i>Lindiaka</i> (in <i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10)	29	<i>Argonautika</i> iii.1179; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>	
Euripides, <i>Ion</i>		<i>Online</i> , 2014: 6 F 1)	80
185–235	27	“Homeros,”	
Eusebios [of Kaisareia],		<i>Ilias</i>	
<i>de Theophania</i> (<i>peri tes Theophaneias</i>)		i.39	2
iii.2	154	i.100–7	2
<i>ekklestiastike historia</i>		ii.827	88
<i>pantodape historia i</i> (<i>khronikoi kanones</i>) .1–2		v.266	88
(Berossos)	23, 154	vi.287–311	27
<i>praeparatio evangelica</i> (<i>euangelike proparaskeue</i>)		vii.146	88
ix.13 (Hellankos, Manethon)	23, 80	vii.149	88
<i>vita Constantini</i> (<i>eis ton bion Konstantinou</i>)	154	xi.20–23	88
iii.54	8, 148	xv.532	88
iv.60	152	xvi.381	88
Eutropius [Flavius], <i>breviarium historiae Romanae</i>		xvi.867	88
vii.18,2–3	105	xviii.84	88
Fenestella, <i>annales</i>	82	xviii.478–608	15, 16
Gellius [Aulus], <i>noctes atticae</i>		xxiii.277–8	88
ii.24,14	107	xxiii.619	88
iv.8,7	107	xxiii.745	88
xvii.21,39	107	xxiv.74–5	88
		<i>Odysseia</i>	
		iv.125–6	88
		iv.617–8	88
		xxi.31–33	88

Horatius [Flaccus, Quintus], <i>epistulae</i> ii.1,93–98	12	Loukianos [Samosateus], <i>dialogoi</i> <i>Herodotos</i> 4–6	16 68
Iosepos [Titus Flavius (Yosef ben Matityahu)], <i>historia Ioudaikou polemou pros Rhomaious</i> iv.651	105	<i>Philopseudes</i> 18–19	129
vii.5,7	7, 130, 131	<i>pos dei historian syngraphein</i> 62	66
<i>peri arkhaiotetos Ioudaion logos</i> i (Berossos; Manethon)	23	Lucilius [Gaius], <i>carmina</i> 85M	121
Iustinianus I [Augustus, Flavius Petrus Sabbatius], <i>digesta Iustiniani Augusti</i> xix.17.3,1	121	<i>ludlul bel nemeqi (the righteous sufferer)</i>	21
xxvii.9.5,11 (Ulpianus)	75	Macrobius [Ambrosius Theodosius], <i>Saturnalia</i> iii.11.6	2, 9
Iustinus [Marcus Iunianius], <i>historiarum Philippicarum</i> [<i>historiarum Philippicarum libri xlv</i>] xxxvi.4,3	45	III.15,6	104
Iuvenalis [Decimus Iunius], <i>saturarum libri</i> v	85	Malalas [Ioannes], <i>khronographia</i> 320	150
ix.22–26	130	Manasses [Konstantinos], <i>ekphrasis</i> i.21–32	151
Kallimakhos, <i>Hekale</i> <i>hymnoi</i> ii.90–96	65 70	Manethon, <i>Aigyptiaka</i> (in Iosepos, <i>peri arkhaiotetos Ioudaion logos</i> i, Sextos Ioulios Aphrikanos, <i>khronographiai</i> F46, Eusebios, <i>praeparatio evangelica</i> [euangelike proparaskeue] ix.13 and others; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: 609)	23
Kallistratos, <i>ekphrasis</i>	16	Marcellinus [Comes], <i>chronicon</i> 428	152
Kallixeinos of Rhodos (in Athenaios, <i>deipnosophistai</i> v.196a–203c)	3, 10, 41, 47	439.2	152
Kedrenos, Georgios, <i>synopsis historion</i> i.600	152	469.2	153
i.649	150	Martialis [Marcus Valerius] [<i>epigrammata</i>] iv.39	83, 84, 85
Khoniates [Niketas], see Niketas		vii.13	84
Khristodoros [of Koptos], <i>ekphrasis</i> (in <i>anthologia palatina</i>) 23–31	16 150	viii.6	83, 85
311–50	150	viii.81	84
414–16	150	ix.43	14, 106
Khrysostomos [Ioannes], <i>homilia</i> 2	154	ix.44	14, 107
Konstantinos Manasses, see Manasses		xiv.3	103
Krinagoras, <i>epigrammata</i> (51 poems in <i>anthologia palatina</i>)	65–66	xiv (apophoreta)	89
		xiv.89–90	103
		xiv.170–81 (apophoreta)	15
		Meleagros, <i>Garland</i>	56
		Menandros, <i>peri epideiktikon</i> 50–51	151
		<i>menologion of Basil II</i> 613C	152
Lactantius [Lucius Cecilius Firmianus], <i>institutiones divinae</i> ii.4,33–36	101	Mithaikos [of Syrakousai] (in Platon, <i>Gorgias</i> 518b)	35
<i>liber pontificalis</i> xxxiv.9–11	76	Myron, <i>Cow</i>	69, 130
Livius [Patavinus, Titus], <i>ab urbe condita</i> i.55,1–2	4	Nikephoras [Kallistos], <i>ekklesiastike historia</i> xiv.49	152
v.21,1–7	4	Niketas [Khoniates], <i>historia</i> 519	151
v.22,3–7	4	648	150
<i>periochae</i> xiv	107	649–50	151
xxv.7	7	650–51	149
xxv.40,1–3	4, 12	651	149
xxviii.6	50	Nossis [of Lokroi], <i>epigrammata</i> (12 poems in <i>anthologia palatina</i>)	15, 16
xxxviii.9,13	12	<i>notitia dignitatum occidentis</i> iv.12–14	75
xxxiv. 4,1–5	12	<i>notitia urbis Constantinopolis</i>	153
xxxix.5	5		
xxxix.5,13–16	4		
xxxix.6,7 (Piso Frugi)	104		
xl.51,3	4, 75		
xliv.27–28	45		

Obsequens [Iulius], <i>prodigiorum liber</i>		Photios, <i>bibliotheke</i>	
68	99	lxiii.18–22 (Olympiodoros)	
Olympiodoros (in Photios, <i>bibliotheke</i> lxiii.18–22)	143	cxlix.28–33 (Ptolemaios Hephaistos)	130
<i>onomastikon of Amenope</i>	20	Piso Frugi [Lucius Calpurnius] <i>frgm.</i> 34 (in Livius, <i>ab urbe condita</i>)	104
Optatus [of Milevis], <i>Optati Milevitani libri vii</i>		Platon	
i.17–18	76	<i>epistolai</i>	
Orosius [Paulus], <i>historiae adversus paganos</i>		7	35
vii.8,7	105	<i>Gorgias</i>	
Ovidius [Naso Publius],		471a–c	36
<i>ars amatoria</i>		518b (Mithaikos)	35
i.21	68	Platon the Younger (ascribed to in <i>anthologia palatina</i> ix.748)	67
<i>Oxyrhynchos papyri</i> (P. Oxy.)	76	Plautus [Titus Maccius], <i>menaechni</i>	
xii.1449		143	121
<i>Papiri della Reale Università di Milano</i> (P. Mil. Vogl.)		Plinius [Gaius Caecilius Secundus] <i>minor, epistulae</i>	
viii.309	54	iii.1	105
<i>parastaseis syntomoi khronikai</i>		Plinius [Gaius Caecilius Secundus] <i>maior, naturalis historia</i>	
37	151	praef.17	81
60	149	praef.19	7
64	149	iii.120	81
76	149	iii.210	81
<i>patria Konstantinopoleos</i>		vi.200	81
ii.45	150	vii.125	47
ii.73	148	vii.210	81
ii.81	149	viii.37	81
Pausanias, [<i>Hellados periegesis</i>]		viii.55	63
i.21,7	27	viii.56	81
i.22,6	3, 122	viii.196–197	82
i.22,6–7	109	ix.11	81
ii.27,3	66	ix.117–121	84
v.17,1	109	xiii.91–92	100
vi.14,11	49	xiii.91–95	84, 85, 100
vii.16,7–8	50	xiii.91–98	102
viii.31,8	31	xiii.92	102
viii.42,6	49	xiii.93	102
ix.1,20	130	xiii.93–94	103
ix.25,3	31	xiii.95	103
ix.30,1	44	xiii.96	103
ix.35,6	50	xiv.2–7	7
ix.40,11–12	2	xiv.69	66
x.35,7	31	xvi.24	51
x.38,6	109	xviii.39	107
Petronius [Arbiter, Gaius], <i>satyrica</i>		xix.2	31
26–78	85, 86	xix.11–13	31
50,4	105	xxii.11	97
52	14, 83, 84	xxii.12	97
52,1	105	xxvii.18	81
52,2–3	105	xxx.50	94
73,20–24	84	xxxii.5	81
83	111	xxxiii.40	84
83,1	124	xxxiii.139–140	105
83,7	124	xxxiii.142	104
83–89	16, 85	xxxiii.145	105
93,3	124	xxxiii.147	104
119,27–32	103	xxxiii.148	104
Philippos, <i>Garland</i>	56, 65, 66,	xxxiii.148–9	12
	68, 70	xxxiii.149	45, 53
Philodemos, <i>pepi poiematon</i>	54	xxxiii.154	104
Philon [of Byzantion?], <i>peri ton hepta theamaton</i>		xxxiv–xxxvi (Douris of Samos)	50
iv.6	40	xxxiv.6	101
Philostratos, <i>eikones</i>		xxxiv.11–12	84
i.pref.	16		

xxxiv.14	104	xxxv.148	111, 124
xxxiv.30	75	xxxv.155	17
xxxiv.31	4, 5	xxxv.157	4
xxxiv.34	4	xxxvi.20–21	96
xxxiv.37–93	129	xxxvi.23	72
xxxiv.40	151	xxxvi.25	72
xxxiv.48	13, 14, 82,	xxxvi.27	17, 131
	94, 96	xxxvi.33	6, 11
xxxiv.51	50	xxxvi.36	72
xxxiv.52	50	xxxvi.58	130
xxxiv.53	134	xxxvi.113	7
xxxiv.54	4	xxxvi.118–19	7
xxxiv.62	12, 94	xxxvii.11	54, 81
xxxiv.63	47	xxxvii.12	12
xxxiv.79	130	xxxvii.12–14	12
xxxiv.82	82	xxxvii.18	106
xxxiv.83	43	xxxvii.18–20	106
xxxiv.84 (Antigonos)	14, 43,	xxxvii.19	106
	50, 82,	xxxvii.20	82, 106
	130–131	xxxvii.21	105
xxxiv.93	73	xxxvii.24	66
xxxv, passim	118	xxxvii.29	82, 84, 106
xxxv.2	124	xxxvii.69	66
xxxv.4	110	xxxvii.73	66
xxxv.4–5	11	xxxvii.108	66
xxxv.5–8	5	xxxvii.114	66
xxxv.6–8	11	Ploutarkhos,	
xxxv.11	11, 12	<i>bioi paralleloi</i>	
xxxv.19–21	127	<i>Aemilius Paulus</i>	
xxxv.22–23	110	32–33	4
xxxv.23	127	38	44
xxxv.24	5, 12, 50,	<i>Aratos</i>	
	110	12, 4–13, 1	48
xxxv.24–25	5	12, 6–13, 5	10
xxxv.26	6, 12, 111,	13, 4	48
	121	<i>Cato minor</i>	
xxxv.26–28	12	19, 8	104
xxxv.27	12, 110, 121	<i>Marcus Tullius Cicero</i>	
xxxv.37	118	7	96
xxxv.60	110	8, 6	99
xxxv.60–61	127	11, 205 B	96
xxxv.62	94	31, 6	99, 100
xxxv.66	4, 12	<i>Demetrios</i>	
xxxv.70	94	53, 2–3	40
xxxv.76	48	<i>Fabius Maximus</i>	
xxxv.83–94	110	12, 6	151
xxxv.85	47	<i>Lucius Licinius Lucullus</i>	
xxxv.87–88	48	37, 2	5
xxxv.91	118	39, 1	104
xxxv.92	48	40, 1	104
xxxv.96	47	<i>Lucullus & Kimon</i>	
xxxv.99	48	1, 5–6	104
xxxv.100	110	<i>Marcellus</i>	
xxxv.108	81, 130	21, 1	4, 5
xxxv.115–17	127	21, 1–7	12
xxxv.118	118	<i>Marcus Antonius</i>	
xxxv.120	127	4, 1–3	64
xxxv.125	13	9	63
xxxv.127	97, 110	60, 3	64
xxxv.130	13, 96, 110	71	64
xxxv.131	16	87, 1–2	65
xxxv.132	48	<i>Nikias</i>	
xxxv.134	115	3	33

<i>Pompeius</i>		Sallustius [Crispus, Gaius], [<i>historiae</i>]	
2,12	104	ii.45–47	95
<i>Sulla</i>		<i>scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora</i>	130
1	107	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae</i> ,	
<i>ethika</i>		<i>Elagabalus</i>	
<i>apophthegmata basileon kai strategon</i>		18,4	105
15	96	<i>Hadrianus</i>	
<i>symposiaka problemata</i>		26,5	86
iv.10,672c	134	Seneca [Lucius Annaeus],	
v.1,674a	134	<i>controversiae</i>	
v.675b (Polemon)	30	i.praef.19	96
Polemon ('King Polemon') (in <i>anthologia palatina</i>		ix.3,12–13	68
ix.746, xi.38)	69	<i>de beneficiis</i>	
Polemon [periegetes],		vii.9,2	103
<i>peri ton anathematon ton en Athenesin akropolei</i>		<i>epistulae ad Lucilium</i>	
(Strabon ix.1,16; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>		lxxxvi.1–8	12, 14
Online, 2014: iii B.189)	30	<i>Septuagint</i>	23, 157
<i>peri ton en Lakedaimoni anathematon</i> (Athenaios,		<i>sha naqba imuro</i> (he who saw the deep, see <i>Gilgamesh</i>)	
<i>deipnosophistai</i> xiii.574c; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New</i>		Sokrates [Skholastikos], <i>ekklesiastike historia</i>	
<i>Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: iii B.189)	30	i.17	152, 153
<i>peri ton in Delphois thesauron</i> (Ploutarkhos,		ii.1	153
<i>symposiaka problemata</i> v.675b; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's</i>		vi.23	152
<i>New Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: iii B.189)	30	vii.21	152
Polos [of Akragas], <i>peri goneon kai progonon ton eis</i>		vii.45	152, 153, 154
<i>Ilion strateysamenon</i> , see Damastes		ix.2	152
Polybios, [<i>historiai</i>]		<i>souda lexikon</i>	
vii.10	49	beta, 157	151
xviii.11,4–7	40	delta, 41 (Damastes)	80
xx.30,9	4	Sozomenos [Skholastikos], <i>ekklesiastike historia</i>	
xxi.30,9	12	ii.1	152
xxii.8,10	49	vii.21	152
Poseidippos, <i>epigrammata</i>		xiii.17,5	152
<i>andriantopoiika</i>	43, 48	Statius [Publius Papinus], <i>silvae</i>	
<i>anathematika</i>		iv.6	14, 106
39 A.–B.	66	iv.6,50–56	106
<i>lithika</i>		<i>story of the flood</i> , see <i>Atrahasis</i>	
3 A.–B.	54	Strabon, [<i>geographika</i>]	
6 A.–B.	66	vi.3,1	151
1–20 A.–B.	54–55, 66,	viii.6,23	4
	68–70	ix.1,16 (Polemon)	30
Prokopios [of Kaisareia],		xiii.4,4	45
<i>anekdota</i> (<i>historia arcana</i>)		xiv.1,14	109, 124
i.15	150	xiv.2,19	118
<i>hyper ton polemon logoi</i> (<i>peri ton gotthikon polemon</i>)		xvi.1,6	66
iii.5,3–5	160	xvii.1,8	10
iv.21	130	Suetonius [Tranquillus, Gaius], <i>de vita caesarum</i>	
Propertius [Sextus], [<i>elegiae</i>]	6	<i>scriptores historiae Augustae</i>	
Prudentius, <i>contra Symmachum</i>		<i>Augustus</i>	
i.499–505	9	17,5	65
Pseudo-Asconius, <i>Pseudoasconiana</i>		34,1	107
p. 237 (ed. Stangl)	95	71	106
p. 238: 8–12 (ed. Stangl)	95	96	149
Pseudo-Sallustius, <i>invektiva in Ciceronem</i>		<i>Caligula</i>	
7	100	7,1	87
Ptolemaios [Hephaistos], (in Photios, <i>bibliotheke</i>		34	75
cxlix.28–33)	130	<i>Iulius Caesar</i>	
		10	12
Quintilianus [Marcus Fabius], [<i>institutio oratoria</i>]		<i>Nero</i>	
vi.98	96	25,2	87
xi.2,24	96	47,1	106
xii.10,3–6	118	<i>Tiberius</i>	
		43,2	87
(the) righteous sufferer, see <i>ludlul bel nemeqi</i>		44,2	87, 94

<i>Titus</i>		Valerius [Maximus], <i>factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri ix</i>	
8,10	75	ii.9,4	107
<i>Vitellius</i>		Varro [Marcus Terentius],	
13	105	<i>aetia</i> 82	
Tacitus [Publius Cornelius],		<i>antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum</i>	82
<i>annales</i>		<i>de gente populi Romani</i>	82
ii.33	107	<i>de vita populi Romani</i>	82
ii.33,1	107	<i>hebdomades vel de imaginibus</i>	12
iii.52,1–2	107	<i>rerum rusticarum libri tres</i>	
iii.55,1–2	107	i.2,10	110, 124
<i>de vita et moribus C.Iulii Agricolae</i>		i.59,2	111, 124
6,6	75	iii.2,5	111
Tertullianus [Quintus Septimius Florens], <i>de pallio</i>		iii.2,17	104
V	100	iii.24	121
Theodoros [Lector], <i>ekklesiastike historia</i>		Velleius [Paterculus, Gaius], <i>historiae Romanae</i>	
ii.64	152, 153	ii.33,4	104
<i>Theodosianus</i> (codex), see <i>codex Theodosianus</i>		ii.82,4	64
Theokritos, <i>eidyllia</i>		Vergilius [Maro, Publius],	
15	48, 61	<i>Aeneid</i>	
Theophanes, <i>khronographia</i>		i.456–93	16
i.86.26–87.5	152	<i>eclogae</i>	
Theopompos [of Khios], <i>peri ton ek Delphon sulethenton khrematon</i> (cited in Athenaios, <i>deipnosophistai</i> xiii.604f–605a Flower, 1994: 36–37; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: 115 F 247–49)	38	x.69	68
Theotimos, <i>kata Ailourou</i> (in <i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10)		Vitruvius [Pollio, Marcus], <i>de architectura</i> [<i>de architectura libri decem</i>]	
I	29	i.2,7	114, 124
Thoukydides, [<i>historiai</i>]		vi.3,8	114, 124
i.1	80	vi.4,2	114, 124
i.21	80	vi.5,2	107, 109, 124
i.22,2	80	vi.7,3	124
i.73,2	80	Xenagoras, <i>khronographia</i> (in <i>ILindos</i> 2 B.10; Jacoby, 1923/ <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> Online, 2014: 240 F 5)	
i.97	80	i	19
vi.46	34	Zosimos, <i>historia nea</i>	
Ulpianus [Gnaeus Domitius Annianus] (in Iustinianus, <i>digesta Iustiniani Augusti</i> xxvii.9.5,11)	75	ii.16	148
		ii.31	149
		ii.32	148–49

Index B. Place Names

nb. In the case of cities whose names have changed from Greek to Latin over the course of the centuries covered in this book, for the purposes of consistency, we have normally maintained the Greek name even in chapters discussing the Roman period, especially if that name has been already used by an author discussing the location in an earlier Greek period of its history, cf. Akragas, Syrakousai, etc. . .

- Agrigentum, see Akragas.
Agrippa's Baths see Roma
Aiani 36
Aigai (Vergina) 22, 35, 36, 40, 43, 115
 Tomb of (?) Philippos of Makedonia 36, 115
 Rape of Persephone, see Index C: Nikomakhos
Aigina 25, 49, 50
 Statues from, at Pergamon 49
Aitolia 49
Aix-les-Bains 140
Akhaia 50, 92, 93, 158
Akragas (Agrigentum) 9, 29, 34–35, 39, 91
Akropolis, see Athenai
Aktion (Actium) 107, 149, 150
Alexandria 1, 3, 9, 10, 33, 40–44, 47–48, 54–55, 58, 61, 64–66, 68, 71, 106, 109, 129, 133, 157, 158
 Festival Pavilion of Ptolemaios II 3, 10, 41, 47, 52, 109, 111, 123
 Library 3, 10, 15, 23, 42
 Mouseion 10, 13, 15, 42, 157
Ambrakia 5, 12, 35, 44
Andilly-en-Bassigny (villa) 141
Antequera 137–138
Antikythera 123
Antiokheia 40, 158
Antium 73
Aphrodisias 139, 140, 141, 142, 161
 sculptor's workshop 139
 Sebasteion 161
Apostoleion (Holy Apostles) 152, 153
Aquileia 142, 143
Argiletum 99
Arles 140
Arpinum 99
Ashur 21
Asia 6, 12, 22, 49, 91, 92, 93, 95, 97, 100, 104, 105, 142, 146
Asia Minor 25, 37, 40, 50, 91, 137, 142, 144, 146–155, 157, 158
Aspendos 93, 94, 95
Assisi
 House of Propertius 114
Assorus 91
Athenai 11, 13, 25, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 48, 49, 91, 97, 98, 109, 110, 124, 125, 127, 132, 134, 142, 158, 159
 Akademia 98
 Akropolis 3, 24, 35, 40, 52, 98, 109, 132, 133, 134, 136
 Asklepieion 27, 31
 Erekhtheion 133–134
 Korai 133–134
 Parthenon 2, 27, 28, 52, 93, 161
 Athena Parthenos, see Index C: Pheidias
 Propylaia 3, 109, 122
 Ekklesiasterion 123
 House under the National Gardens 142
 Kyntheion 122
 Lykeion 98
 Sanctuaries of Eros and Aphrodite 136
 Sanctuary of Athena Polias (honoured as Ergane) 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 98
Attike 25, 26, 130
Augusta Treverorum (Trier) 146
Babylon 20, 21, 22, 23, 41, 82, 152
Baghdad 21
Beneventum 92
Boiotia 25, 49, 158
Brauron 27
 Sanctuary of Artemis 40
Byblos 21
Byzantion 35, 147, 148, 150
Campania 92, 111, 118
Carmania 105
Carthago (see also Kart Hadasht) 73, 75, 160
Castelculier (villa) 141
Centuripae 92
Cherchell, Algeria 65, 141
Chiragan (villa) 142, 143, 158
Cirta 25, 75
Constantina 75
Constantinopolis 8, 9, 31, 144, 145, 146–155, 158, 160, 161
 Agios Akakios 148, 152–153, 154
 Agios Mokios 148, 152–153, 154
 Apostoleion (Holy Apostles) 152, 153
 Baths of Zeuxippos 8, 16, 144, 148, 149, 150
 Curia Iulia 72
 Forum of Arcadius 148
 Forum of Constantinus 148, 149, 150, 153
 Forum of Theodosius 148
 Great Palace 153
 Hebdomon (palace) 152, 153
 Hippodromos 8, 148, 149, 150, 155
 Khalkoprateia 153
 Palace of Laosos 8, 31, 144
 Senate House 8
 Serpent Column 149, 150
Deir al Bahari 22
 Temple of Queen Pharoh Hatshepsut
Deir el Medina 22
 Library of Khenerkopeshef 22
Delos 2, 25–26, 33, 34, 44, 46, 92, 93, 118, 119, 123–124
 Fanum Apollinis 25, 33, 93, 123
Delphoi 3, 30, 35, 38, 40, 49
 Leskhe of the Knidians 3
 Mural paintings by Polygnotos: see Index C: Polygnotos
 Temple of Apollon 14, 27, 30, 38, 41, 49, 149
Demetrias 40, 43, 44

- Denmark
 National Museum 29, 30, 32
 Didyma 25, 31
 Dion 4, 5, 36, 43, 44
 Domus Aurea, see Roma
- Ebla 21, 22
 Egesta, see Segesta
 Egypt 9, 10, 13, 14, 20–22, 23, 33, 39, 43, 45, 47, 48, 55, 59, 68, 76, 118,
 119, 130, 133, 134, 138, 139, 149, 156, 157, 160
 El Amarna 22
 El Ruedo (villa) 144
 Elateia 48
 Elephantine 19
 Emerita Augusta (Merida) 146
 Ephesos 36, 138, 146, 152, 158
 Artemision 104, 134
 Heraion 109
 Terrace House 2 138
 Epidauros 145
 Asklepieion 66, 145
 Eretria 44, 115
 Erythrai 93
 Eryx 34
 Temple of Aphrodite 34
 Estación (villa) 137, 138, 141
- Fianello Sabino (villa) 138
 Firenze 130
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale 58, 59, 60, 63
 Frascati 74
- Gallia 140, 142, 158
 Geneva 75, 77
 Glanum 140
 Granikos 4, 43
 Greece 2, 4, 9, 11, 14, 24, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47, 48, 72, 88, 91, 92,
 98, 99, 100, 127, 130, 132, 136, 138, 144, 150, 151, 160
- Halaisa 91
 Halikarnassos 25, 37, 107
 Heliopolis 23
 Henna 91
 Herculaneum 54, 56, 78, 111, 159
 Villa of the Papyri 11, 86, 98, 131–133, 143, 157
 Hierapolis in Phrygia 161
 Himera 34, 91
 Holy Land 151, 152, 153, 154, 155
 Horraon 37, 38
- Iberian Peninsula 102
 Ierusalem, see Yerushalayim
 Ilion 25, 28, 80
 Illiria 6
 Imbros 25
- Jerusalem, see Yerushalayim
- Kaisareia 65, 67, 148, 150, 152, 154
 Kalkhedon 91
 Kanobos 133
 Kart Hadasht (see also Carthago) 34, 35
- Kassope 37
 Khaironeia 2
 Khalkedon 153
 Khattusa 21
 Khios 38
 Knidos 96
 Temple of Aphrodite
Aphrodite of Knidos, see Index C: Praxiteles
 Knossos 21
 Kommagene 157
 Korinthos 4, 10, 11, 12, 40, 44, 49, 50, 92, 93, 101, 105, 110, 115, 123, 144, 145
 Panayia Domus 145
 Kos 54
 Asklepieion 109
 Kyklades 25
 Kynoskephalon 12
- La-Garenne-de-Nérac (villa) 140
 Labraunda 37
 Lagash 156
 Lebanon 21
 Leptis Magna 146
 Libya 20, 138
 Lilybaeum, see Lilybaion
 Lilybaion 91, 100
 Lindos 3, 40
 Akropolis 24
 Temple of Athena 3
 Lindian *stele* 3, 24–32
 Lokris 49
- Magnesia on the Maiandros 104, 158
 Mahdia 123
 Makedonia 4, 9, 12, 29, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,
 50, 56, 94, 115, 157, 159
 Malta 91, 102
 Fanum Iunonis 92
 Mari 20, 22
 Marseille 96
 Mediana (Serbia) 139
 Merida, see Emerita Augusta
 Mesopotamia 20, 21, 22, 23, 156
 Messana, see Messene
 Messene 5, 44, 49, 52, 82, 91, 92, 97, 129
 Messina, see Messene
 Mieza 47
 Miletos 26, 31
nymphaion 146
 Milreu (villa) 141
 Mitanni 21
 Morgantina, see Morgantion
 Morgantion 44
 Mylasa 25
- Naissus, Serbia 139
 Napoli
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 121, 132
 Nemi
 Fanum of Isis and Bubastis 75
 Nikomedeia 149
 Nineveh 22
 Library of Ashurbanipal 22

Nova Ierusalem, see Constantinopolis

Nova Roma, see Constantinopolis

Nubia 20, 21

Olympia 3, 34, 35, 49, 130

Heraion 109

Temple of Zeus

Zeus of Olympia, see Index C: Pheidias

Olynthos 36, 37, 39

Opous 49

Oreos 49, 50

Statues from, at Pergamon 49

Oropos 25, 26

Ostia 139

Oxyrhynchos 76, 77, 159

Temple of Neotera 76

Palermo, see Panormos

Palestine 20, 21

Pamphylia 93

Panormos (Palermo) 91

Paros 25

Parthenon, see Athenai

Pella 36, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 127

Pentetele 142

Pergamon 1, 3, 4, 9, 10–11, 12, 14, 33, 42, 43, 45–53, 104, 109, 110, 129, 130, 157

Dionysos (painting of) 48, 50

Great Altar 42, 52, 53

Library 9, 10, 42, 50, 51, 52, 53, 98

Mouseion 9, 10, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 109

Palaces 9, 42, 45, 47, 50, 51, 53

Sanctuary of Athena Polias 11, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53

Temple of Dionysos 50

Trojan Horse (panel relief) 53

Perge 25

Temple of Artemis 93

Persepolis 39

Phokis 2

Pitsa 118

Plataiai 25, 38, 40, 149, 150, 159

Pompeii 70, 78, 99, 111, 112, 134–136

House of Akhilleus 115, 116

House of Apollon 115, 116

House of Ara Maxima 113

House of Meleagros 16, 116

House of Obellius Firmus 112

House of the Citharist 116

House of the Cryptoporticus 112

House of the Dioskouroi 115, 116

House of the Epigrams 114

House of the Faun 115

House of the Gilded Cupids 10, 116, 134–136

House of the Quadrigae 116

House of the Vestals 112

House of Vedius Siricus 116

Pontos 55, 69, 97, 105

Priene 46, 52

Ptolemais 138

Pydna 4, 36, 37, 44

Quinta das Longas (villa) 142, 143

Rhodos 10, 29, 30, 40, 47, 80, 91, 123

Kolosos of Rhodos 40

Roma 1, 2, 4–7, 11–15, 15–17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72–77, 78–90, 91–101, 102–108, 109–117, 118–128, 129, 129–131, 133–134, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157–158, 159, 160, 161, 162

Aedes Concordiae 7, 72

Alta Semita 92

Arch of Constantinus 8, 147

Asinii Pollionis Monumenta 6, 11, 12, 72, 73, 99

Atrium Libertatis 6, 72

Aventine Hill 99

Baths of Agrippa 12, 72, 73, 94, 111

Baths of Caracalla 72, 76

Campus Martius 5, 6, 72, 75, 111

Capitolium 4, 12, 139, 146, 148

Carinae 99

Circus 74, 149

Clivus Salutatis 92

Colossus 76

Column of Marcus Aurelius 159

Column of Traianus 159

Comitium 72, 92, 93, 95

Curia Iulia 72

Divus Augustus (Temple of) 7, 15, 72

Divus Iulius (Temple of) 72

Domus Augusti 17, 92, 112

Domus Aurea 7, 14, 82, 130

Domus Liviae 13, 112

Domus Tampiliana 92

Domus Titi 72

Flavian Amphitheatre 76

Fortuna and Mater Matuta (Sanctuary of) 4, 72

Forum of Augustus 72, 110, 159

Forum of Caesar 72

Forum of Traianus 72

Forum Pacis 110

Horti Asiniani 11

Horti Lamiani 13

Horti Maecenatis 13

Horti Sallustiani 13

Horti Serviliani 72

Imperial Fora 72, 159

Lateranus 76, 152

Lupercal 6

Mausoleum of Augustus 6

Mons Capitolinus 44, 72, 75

Mons Esquilinus 13, 72

Mons Palatinus 4, 6, 13, 72, 92, 93, 99

Mons Quirinalis 92, 99

Pantheon 6

Piazza Sant'Apollinare 74

Porticus Metelli 4, 129

Granikos Monument, see Index C: Lysippos

Porticus Philippi 110

Porticus Pompeii Magni 15

Regia 72

Romulus' Hut 4

Rostra 72, 73

Saepta Iulia 6, 72, 139, 143

San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (Basilica) 74

- San Paolo fuori le Mura (Basilica) 75
 Sant'Omobono 72
 Temple of Apollo of Palatine Hill 6, 13, 72
 Temple of Apollo Sosianus 6, 129
 Temple of Castor and Pollux 74
 Temple of Ceres 110
 Temple of Divus Augustus 7, 15, 72
 Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei 129
 Temple of Fortuna Virilis 4, 72
 Temple of Hercules Musarum 5
 Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus 5, 75, 81, 99, 100, 104, 106, 160
 Temple of Mars Ultor 6, 7, 13, 159
 Temple of Mater Matuta 4, 72
 Temple of Neotera 76, 77
 Temple of Peace 7, 14, 72, 82, 110, 130, 131
 Temple of Quirinus 92
 Temple of Salus 92
 Temple of Venus Genetrix 6, 60, 110
 Templum Novum, see Temple of Divus Augustus
 Templum Pacis, see Temple of Peace
 Theatre of Pompeius Magnus 6, 11, 72, 106
 Tugurium Romuli, see Romulus' Hut
 Vatican 72
 Via Appia 72
 Via Tuscolana 74
 Vicolo dell'Atleta 74
 Villa della Farnesina 112, 113, 116, 118–129

 Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (villa) 140, 142, 143
 Samos 35, 43, 50, 66
 Fanum Iunonis, see Heraion
 Heraion 26, 93, 94, 100, 109
 Sant'Omobono 72
 Sardis 41, 138
 Sassoferrato, see Sentinum
 Segesta 34, 91
 Sentinum (Sassoferrato) 57, 64
 Séviac (villa) 140
 Sicilia 5, 33, 34, 35, 43, 49, 91–92, 95–97, 100–101
 Sikyon 4, 10, 43, 47, 48, 50, 97, 110, 111, 123
 Sippar 21

 Smyrne 91
 Somma Vesuviana (villa) 138
 Susa 21, 39
 Sushî 22
 Syrakousai 4, 9, 12, 35, 36, 39, 42, 44, 91, 94
 Athenaion 91, 94
 Syria 20, 21, 40, 91, 100, 159

 Tanagra 25
 Taranto, see Taras
 Taras 35, 151
 Telloh 156
 Tenedos 93, 95
 Thebai 25, 47, 50, 51
 Thermae 95
 Thespiiai 25
 Thessalonike 56, 65, 66, 67
 Tivoli
 Villa of Hadrianus 11, 14–15, 86, 133–134
 Trier, see Augusta Treverorum
 Troia (Troy) 8, 150, 151, 155
 Tusculum
 Villa of Brutus 99
 Villa of Cicero 13, 97, 101, 118
 Villa of Hortensius 13, 96, 110
 Tyndaris 91

 Ugarit 21

 Valdetorres de Jarama (villa) 141
 Veii 4, 38
 Velia 92
 Verecunda 140
 Vergina, see Aigai
 Vienne (France) 140
 Villa of the Papyri, see Herculaneum
 Volsinii 4, 72

 Washukkanni 21

 Yerushalayim 7, 154, 155

Index C. Personal Names

nb. Biblical names are given in English in both the text and the indices.

1 Ancient

Abraham (patriarch) 154
Adad-nadin-ahhe (King of Assyria) 156, 157
Adam 20, 154
Addaios of Macedonia 56
Addaios of Mytilene 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66
Adonis 48, 60, 61
Aemilius Lepidus 4, 75
Aemilius, Lucius Paullus 44, 45
Agamemnon 2, 115, 116
Agathokles (King of Syrakousai) 3, 43
Aglaophon (Athenian painter) 109
Agricola, Gnaeus Iulius 75
Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius 6, 7, 12, 16, 18, 72, 73, 94, 110, 111
Ahmose (Pharaoh) 21
Aias 110
Ailianos 47, 55
Akakios (martyr) 148, 152, 153, 154
Akhilleus 2, 15, 16, 114, 115, 116
Akhilleus of Skyros 114, 115, 116
Alexandros III (the Great) 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 14, 28, 29, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 66, 68, 94, 115
Alexandros the Athenian (artist) 121
Alkaios 53
Alkamenes (sculptor) 133
Alkibiades 109
Amasis (King of Egypt) 30, 31
Amenmose (scribe) 138
Amenope (scribe) 20
Andrew (apostle) 152, 155
Antigonos Monophthalmos (general of Macedonia) 40
Antigonos of Karystos (author, perhaps sculptor) 10, 43, 50, 130
Antiokhos I (King of Seleucid Kingdom) 23, 157
Antiokhos III (King of Seleucid Kingdom) 104, 158
Antioxos, see Antiokhos I
Antipatros of Sidon 43
Antipatros of Thessalonike 6, 66, 67
Antiphilos of Egypt (painter) 110, 111
Antistratos 72
Antonia minor 55
Antonia Tryphaina 55
Antonius, Marcus 55, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 149
Apelles (painter) 31, 47, 48, 97, 109, 110, 111, 128
Aphrodite Anadyomene 118
Aphrodite 15, 34, 51, 52, 60–61, 66–68, 136, 143, 150
Aphrodite Knidia 142
Apollinaris Sidonius 139
Apollodoros 110, 127
Apollon 2, 6, 27
Apollonios of Athenai (sculptor) 53, 75, 132
Apollonios of Rhodos 80
Apollonius, Flavius (Knight) 75
Appianos 2
Apronius, Quintus 94

Aratos (Tyrant of Sikyon) 10, 48, 49
Arcadius 75, 140, 142, 148, 153
Argentarius, Marcus 67, 68
Argonautai 13, 96, 110
Aristeides of Thebai 50
Aristoteles 35, 47, 87, 98, 99, 161
Arkheilaos I (King of Makedonia) 9, 36, 39, 46
Arkhestratos 35–36
Arkhimedes 43
Arsinoe II (Queen of Makedonia) 48, 54, 61, 65, 66, 70
Arsinoe IV (Queen of Alexandria) 68
Artemis 26, 31, 48, 138, 143
Ashurbanipal (King of Assyrian Empire) 22
Asinius Gallus, Gaius 102
Asinius Pollio, Gaius 6, 7, 11, 12, 72, 102
Asklepiades of Samos 43, 66, 67
Asklepiodoros 48
Asklepios 16, 31, 139, 144, 145
Aspasia 139
Athena 10, 11, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 42, 52, 98, 100, 115, 123, 132, 134, 150
Athena Lindia of Lindos 24, 28, 29, 31
Athena Polias of Athenai 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
Athenaios of Naukratis 3, 10, 30, 35, 39, 41, 47, 48, 111, 123
Athenion of Maroneia 115
Atreus 2
Attalos I (King of Pergamon) 42, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 158
Attalos II (King of Pergamon) 45, 48, 49, 50, 53
Attalos III (King of Pergamon) 12, 45, 53, 104
Atticus, Titus Pomponius 11, 12, 13, 82, 85, 92, 97, 98, 99
Augustus, Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 55, 65, 68, 69, 75, 78, 92, 106, 111, 118, 149, 150, 158
Ausonius, Decimus Magnus 143

Balakros 53
Berenike I (Queen of Alexandria) 66
Berenike II (Queen of Alexandria) 54, 66, 70
Boethos (of Kalkhedon) 91
Boupalos 50
Kharites 50, 53
Brutus, Marcus Iunius 95, 99, 118, 132

Calidius, Cnaeus 91
Caligula, Gaius Iulius Caesar Germanicus 55, 69, 75, 94
Camenae 5
Camillus, Marcus Furius 4
Caracalla, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 2, 76
Catilina, Lucius Sergius 100
Cato, Marcus Porcius (Censor) 12, 44, 110
Charinus (character in Martialis, *epigrammata*) 14, 83
Chrysogonus, Lucius Cornelius 93, 101
Cicero, Marcus Tullius vii, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 35, 39, 44, 49, 52, 63, 74, 75, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 118, 123, 129, 143
Cincius, Lucius 159, 162
Claudius, Gaius 5, 75, 105

- Claudius, Tiberius Caesar Augustus Germanicus 75, 105
 Clodius Albinus 100, 101, 104
 Constantinus 8, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161
 Crassus, Lucius Licinius 96, 103, 104
 Cratippus of Tyndaris 91
 Curio, Gaius Scribonius 7
- Daidalos 105
 Damastes 80
 Dareios (King of Persia) 115
 Datis (Persian commander) 29
 Demetrios of Alopeke 49, 129
 Demetrios Phalereus 10
 Demetrios Poliorketes 40
 Demosthenes 99, 150
 Dercylides 72
 Dikaiarkhos of Messene 82
 Dio Cassius 2, 63, 64, 75, 96, 99, 102, 103, 105, 107
 Diocletianus, Gaius Aurelius Valerius 149
 Diodoros Sikeliotes 9, 34, 35, 38, 39
 Diodoros the Younger 68
 Diodorus Melitensis 91, 100
 Diodorus, Quintus Lutatius (of Lilybaion) 100, 102
 Diogenes 80
 Diomedes 27
 Dionysios (painter) 111
 Dionysios I of Syrakousai 9, 35, 36, 39
 Dionysos 41, 48, 50, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 70, 99, 106, 110, 113, 114, 121, 124, 127, 138, 143, 144, 146
 Dioskouroi 66, 115, 116, 149
 Dolabella, Cnaeus Cornelius 91
 Drusillanus (Rotundos) 105
 Duilius, Caius 73
- Egibi (Babylonian Family of) 22
 Encolpius (character in Petronius, *satyrica*) 86, 111
 Epigonos 53
 Eriphyle 84, 88
 Eros 48, 52, 56–63, 64, 67, 68, 125, 136, 137
 Euctus (character in Martialis, *epigrammata*) 83, 84
 Eudemos 29
 Eukheir (sculptor) 31
 Eumenes II (King of Pergamon) 45, 50, 53
 Eumolpos 86
 Euripides 27, 36
 Eusebios of Kaiseria 8, 23, 80, 148, 154
 Eutropius, Flavius 105
 Eve 154
- Fabius, Gallus 87, 110
 Fenestella (historian) 82
 Firmus, Obellius 112
 Flaccus, Fulvius Marcus 4, 72, 82
 Flaccus, Marcus Verrius, see Verrius Flaccus, Marcus
 Flaminius, Titus Quinctius 12
 Flavius Apollonius 76
 Fortunata (character in Petronius *satyrica*) 84
 Forty Martyrs of Sebaste 152
 Furnius, Gaius 104
- Gabinius, Aulus 101
 Galba, Servius Sulpicius 50, 75
- Gallus, Caius Asinius 102
 Gallus, Caius Cestius 82
 Gallus, Marcus Fabius 87, 97, 99, 110
 Ganymedes 130
 Geiseric (King of Vandals) 160
 Gellia (character in Martialis, *epigrammata*) 84
 Gellius, Aulus 107
 Glycon (divinity) 76
 Glykera 27
 Gnaios (sculptor) 54, 67
 Gordianus III (Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius) 146
 Gorgon 29
 Gorgos of Messene 49
 Gorgosthenes 29
 Gratianus Augustus, Flavius 140
 Gratius 104
 Gudea (King of Mesopotamia) 157
- Hadrianus, Publius Aelius Traianus 15, 105, 130, 133
 Hammurabi (King of Babylon) 20
 Hanniba'al (Carthaginian General) 14, 106
 Harkhuf (Governor of Upper Egypt) 19
 Hatshepsut (Pharaoh) 22
 Hegesias 29
 Heius Caius of Messana 44, 52, 91, 97, 129
 Hekabe 27
 Helena (empress) 152
 Helena (painter) 130
 Helene of Troia 28, 149, 150
 Hellanikos (of Lesbos) 80
 Hephaistos 2, 116
 Hera 26, 51, 52, 150
 Herakleides 35, 80
 Herakles 40, 52, 53, 58, 59, 63, 64, 68, 69, 98, 106, 144, 151
 Heraklios (of Syrakousai) 91
 Hercules, see Herakles
 Hermaphroditos 31
 Hermeros 105
 Hermes 2, 31, 52, 98, 134, 149
 Hermokles (sculptor) 31
 Hero (doctor) 26
 Herodotos 30, 53, 80
 Herondas 3, 15, 16, 31, 48, 52, 109
 Hestia 72, 98
 Hieroboulos 29
 Hieron II (King of Syrakousai) 43
 Hieronymus, Eusebius Sophronius (St. Jerome) 149
 Hippias (Greek Philosopher) 80
 "Homeros" 2, 15, 16, 27, 53, 88, 150
 Honorius, Flavius Augustus 140, 142
 Horatius, Flaccus Quintus 12
 Hortensius, Quintus Hortalus 13, 14, 95, 96, 101, 110
 Hygieia 31, 139
 Hypnos 144
- Iamos (son of Evadne) 114
 Ioannes Khrysostomos 152, 153
 Iosepos, Flavius (Yosef ben Matiyahu) 23, 105, 130, 131
 Isaac (patriarch) 154
 Isaiah (prophet) 152
 Iulia Domna 76
 Iulianus Augustus, Flavius Claudius 142

- Iulius Caesar, Gaius 6, 12, 60, 159
 Iuppiter 74, 100, 125, 126
 Iuppiter Capitolinus 75
 Iustinianus I, Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Augustus 9, 55, 75, 160, 162
 Iustinus (Marcus Iunianus) 45
 Iuvenalis, Decimus Iunius 85, 130

 Jacob (patriarch) 152, 154
 Jerome (Saint), see Hieronymus Eusebius Sophronius
 John the Baptist (Saint) 152, 153
 Joseph (Saint) 152, 154, 155
 Juba II (King of Mauritania) 55, 65, 66, 102

 Kalamis (sculptor) 72
 Kallimakhos 65, 70, 82
 Kallistratos 16, 119
 Kallixeinos of Rhodos 3, 10, 41, 42, 47, 123
 Karanos of Makedonia 48
 Kassandra 105
 Kassandros 36, 40
 Kedrenos Georgios 150, 152
 Kephisodotos (son of Praxiteles) 51, 73, 130
 Symplegma 51
 Khares of Lindos (sculptor) 40
 Kharites 50, 51, 53, 116
 Khayan 21
 Khenerkopeshef, see Dei el Medina
 Khristodoros 150
 Khryses (priest of Apollon) 2
 Khrysostomos, Ioannes (Saint) 152, 153, 154
 Kleopatra Selene II (Queen of Egypt) 55
 Kleopatra VII (Queen of Egypt) 55, 64, 65, 68, 84
 Komodia 31
 Kouretes 31
 Krateros of Makedonia 159
 Kresilas (sculptor) 49, 134
 Krinagoras 65, 66
 Kristodoros 150
 Kroisos (King of Lydia) 30, 38
 Kybele 52, 142
 Kydias
 Argonautai 13, 96, 110
 Kynno (character in Herondas, *mimiamboi*) 31

 Lallianus 146
 Lausos (eunuch of Theodosius II) 8, 144
 Lawrence (martyr) 152, 153
 Leda 52
 Leokhares (sculptor) 130
 Lepidus, Marcus Aemilius 4, 75
 Lindos (eponymous hero) 29
 Liso of Lilybaion 91
 Livius, Patavinus Titus 4, 5, 7, 12, 45, 50, 75
 Lollia, Paulina 84
 Loukianos Samosateus 16, 66, 68, 129
 Lucilius, Gaius 121
 Lucius Cornelius Chrysogonus 93
 Lucius, Crassus 103, 104
 Lucullus Lucius Licinius 13, 73, 104, 110, 124
 Luke (apostle) 152, 155
 Lycoris (character in Martialis, *epigrammata*) 84
 Lykaon Painter 125

 Lysimakhos 122
 Lysippos (sculptor) 43, 47, 48, 50, 73, 111
 Apoxyomenos 12, 13, 94
 Granikos Monument 43
 Herakles 151
 Herakles epitrapezios 14, 106
 Hermes 149

 Macrobius 2
 Malalas Ioannes 150
 Manethon 23
 Manlius Vulso, Gnaeus 104
 Marcellinus Comes 152, 153
 Marcellus, Marcus Claudius 4, 12, 44, 65
 Marcus Antonius 55, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 149
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus 141
 Mars 68, 74, 99
 Marsi 97
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius 6, 14, 15, 16, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 103, 106, 107
 Melanthos 48
 Meleagros of Gadara 66
 Menandros (rhetor) 66, 151, 161
 Menelaos 29
 Mentor 91, 103
 Metellus, Quintus Caecilius Macedonicus 4, 5
 Minerva 99, 100
 Minos 28
 Mithridates (King of Pontos) 54, 97
 Mnason of Elateia 48
 Mnemosyne 87
 Mokios (martyr) 148, 152, 153, 154
 Moses (patriarch) 154
 Mousai 5, 31, 87, 126
 Mucianus, Gaius Licinius 31
 Mummius, Lucius Achaicus 4, 12, 44, 50, 105, 110
 Myron (sculptor) 11, 51, 69, 91, 109, 142
 Cow 69, 130

 Narkissos 113
 Naucellius 143
 Naukydes (sculptor) 130
 Khimon 130
 Nebukadnezzar II (King of Babylon) 22
 Neotera (goddess) 76, 77
 Nero, Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus 7, 14, 56, 72, 75, 81, 82, 94,
 106, 116, 137
 Nikephoros Kallistos 152
 Niketas Khoniates 149, 150
 Nikias of Athenai (general) 33, 48
 Nikias of Athenai (painter) 16, 34
 Nikomakhos (painter) 110, 130
 Rape of Persephone 115
 Nikomedes I (King of Bithynia) 96
 Niobe 105
 Noah (patriarch) 20
 Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius 4, 5
 Novius Vindex, see Vindex Novius

 Obsequens, Iulius 99
 Octavia 55, 65
 Octavianus, see Augustus
 Odysseus 115

- Onatas (sculptor) 11, 49, 51
 Optatus of Milevis 76
 Orosius, Paulus 105
 Otho 105
 Ovidius Naso, Publius xiii, 68

 Pamphilos 48
 Pamphilus of Lilybaion 91
 Pan 48, 62
 Paris 150
 Parrasios 94, 122
 Parthenokles (sculptor) 130
 Pasiteles (sculptor and author) 91
 Paul (apostle) 152, 155
 Paulinus, Sextus Anicius 8
 Pausanias 2, 3, 27, 30, 31, 44, 49, 50, 51, 66, 80, 109, 122, 130, 160, 162
 Pausias (painter) 66
 Peleus 150
 Pelops 2
 Pepi II (Pharaoh) 19
 Perseus (King of Makedonia) 44
 Peter (apostle) 155
 Petraitas 105
 Petronius Arbiter, Gaius 14, 16, 81, 83, 84, 86, 89, 103, 105, 111, 124
 Phalaris 29
 Pheidias 8, 10, 40, 58, 132, 133, 134
 Amazon 132
 Athena Parthenos 52
 Athena Promakhos 40, 52
 Zeus of Olympia 8
 Philarcus of Centuripae 91
 Philetairos (ruler of Pergamon) 48, 51
 Philippos of Thessalonike 56, 65, 66
 Philippos II (King of Makedonia) 37, 39, 46, 47, 94
 Philippos V (King of Makedonia) 12, 29, 40, 49
 Philopoimen (Attalid officer) 50
 Philoxenos of Eretria 115
 Photios 130, 143
 Piso, Lucius Calpurnio Frugi (consul) 101
 Platon 35, 36, 67, 98, 99, 161
 Plautus, Titus Maccius 121
 Plinius, Gaius Caecilius Secundus maior 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 31, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 63, 65, 66, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 118, 119, 121, 124, 127, 129, 130, 131, 134, 143, 151, 159, 162
 Plinius, Gaius Caecilius Secundus minor 78, 105
 Ploutarkhos 4, 5, 10, 12, 30, 33, 40, 44, 48, 55, 63, 64, 65, 96, 99, 100, 104, 107, 134, 151, 159
 Polemon (author) 30, 69, 70, 71
 Polemon I (King of Pontos) 55, 69
 Polemon II (King of Pontos) 55, 69, 70
 Pollio, Asinius 6, 7, 11, 12, 72, 102
 Pollio, P. Vedius 78
 Pollux 159
 Polos 80
 Polybios 4, 12, 40, 49
 Polygnotos 3, 109
 Murals in the *Leskhe* of the Knidians, Delphoi 3
 Paintings in the *propylaia* on the Akropolis, Athenai 3, 122
 Polykleitos 50, 52, 91, 74, 130, 134
 Doryphoros 132, 149
 Pythokles 130
 Polykrates 88
 Polymnestos 49
 Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus 6, 7, 11, 12, 54, 72, 96, 105, 106
 Popilius, Laenas Marcus 75
 Poseidippos of Pella 15, 16, 43, 48, 54, 55, 65, 66, 69, 70, 160
 Poseidon 146
 Praxiteles (sculptor) 11, 51, 66, 72, 73, 91, 110, 130
 Aphrodite of Knidos 8, 96, 142
 Eros 5, 91
 Proclus (Bishop) 153
 Prokopios of Kaisareia 130, 150, 160
 Protogenes 48, 111
 Prudentius 9
 Pseudo-Asconius 95
 Psykhe 57, 59, 60, 63
 Ptolemaios Hephaistos 130
 Ptolemaios of Mauritania 102
 Ptolemaios I Soter (King of Egypt) 10, 23
 Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (King of Egypt) 10, 23, 47, 48, 111, 123
 Ptolemaios III Evergetes 43
 Publius, Vedius Pollio 78
 Pulcheria 152, 154
 Puzur-Ishtar 20, 22
 Pyrgoteles (gem carver) 47
 Pyromakhos (sculptor) 130
 Pyrrhos (King of Epeiros) 12
 Pythodoris 55
 Pythokles 130

 Quintilius Varus, Publius 74
 Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius 96, 118
 Quintus, Maximus (probably the Cunctator) 91

 Remus 149, 150
 Rhoimetalkes (Roman governor) 139
 Roma (divinity) 144
 Romulus 4, 6, 149, 150
 Rufus, Marcus Minucius 74

 Sallustius 95
 Samuel (prophet) 152, 153, 154, 155
 Sappho 53, 91, 94
 Scaurus, Marcus Aemilius 7, 97, 110
 Scipio, Lucius Cornelius Asiaticus 12, 104
 Scipio, Publius Cornelius Aemilianus Africanus 35, 75
 Seirenes 113, 122
 Seleukos (artist) 128
 Seleukos I Nikator (King of Seleukid Empire) 31
 Seneca maior 68
 Seneca minor 12, 14, 96, 103
 Septimius Severus, Lucius 76, 148
 Servilius, Publius Vatia Isauricus 7
 Shamash-resha-usur (governor of Aramaean State) 22
 Shutruk-Nahhunte (King of Elam) 21
 Silanion 11, 49, 50
 Sappho 91, 94
 Siricus, Vedius 116
 Skopas (gem-cutter) 56
 Skopas (sculptor) 72, 73
 Sokrates Skholastikos 152, 153, 154
 Somnus 137
 Sopolis (artist) 111

- Sosikles (sculptor) 74
 Sostratos 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68
 Sozomenos Skholastikos 152
 Spurrina, Titus Vestricius 105
 Statius, Publius Papinius 14, 106
 Stephen (martyr) 152, 153, 155
 Strabon 4, 10, 30, 45, 66, 68, 109, 124, 151
 Stratonikos (sculptor) 130
 Strongylion (sculptor) 14, 82
 Amazon euknemon 14, 82
 Suetonius, Tranquillus Gaius 12, 75, 87, 94, 105, 106, 107, 149
 Sulla, Lucius Cornelius 14, 44, 93, 97, 106, 107

 Tacitus, Publius Cornelius 75, 107
 Telephos 29, 53
 Tene 93, 95
 Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens 100
 Tharsagoras 29, 30
 Theodoros Lector 152, 153
 Theodosius I, Flavius Augustus 142, 148, 152, 153
 Theodosius II, Flavius Junior Augustus 148, 153
 Theokritos 61
 Theophanes 152
 Theoros 110
 Theotimos 29
 Theron 11, 49, 51
 Thetis 116, 150
 Thoudydides 34, 80
 Thutmosis III (Pharaoh) 22
 Thyestes 2
 Tiberius, Iulius Caesar 7, 12, 16, 68, 74, 94, 103, 107
 Tiglath-pileser I (King of Assyria) 22
 Timakhidas (sculptor) 29, 30, 31
 Timanthes (painter) 110
 Timomakhos 110
 Aias 110
 Medea 110
 Timotheos (author) 53

 Timotheos (sculptor) 52
 Leda and Swan 52
 Timothy (apostle) 152, 155
 Tragodia 31
 Traianus, Marcus Ulpius Nerva 159
 Tressaud, Alain 105
 Trimalchio (character in Petronius, *satyrice*) 14, 16, 78, 84, 85, 86, 105
 Tryphon 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68

 Ulpianus, Domitius (Roman jurist) 75

 Valens 140
 Valentinianus II 75, 140
 Valerius Maximus 107
 Varro, Marcus Terentius 12, 82, 104, 110, 111, 121, 124
 Velleius Paterculus, Gaius 64, 104
 Venus 6, 68, 121, 127, 137, 139
 Vergilius Maro, Publius 16, 68, 150
 Verres, Gaius 11, 12, 13, 14, 39, 74, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95,
 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 123
 Verrius Flaccus, Marcus 82
 Vespasianus, Titus Flavius Sabinus 7, 8, 11, 14, 18, 31, 82
 Vickers, Michael 105
 Vindex, Novius 14, 106
 Vitellius, Aulus Germanicus Augustus 105
 Vitruvius Pollio, Marcus 86, 107, 109, 114, 117, 124
 Vulca (sculptor) 4

 Xenagoras 29
 Xenokrates 10, 43, 50, 51

 Zacharias (prophet) 154
 Zenon Eusebes of Laodikeia 55
 Zeus 2, 8, 36, 42, 43, 130
 Zeus Ammon 119, 122
 Zeus Urios in Syracuse 94
 Zeuxis (painter) 36, 47, 68, 110, 111
 Zosimos 148, 149

2 **Modern**

- Abry, Josèphe-Henriette 64
 Adams, Colin 55, 130
 Aga-Oglu, Mehmet 161
 Ajootian, Aileen 53
 Akamatis, Ioannis M. 36
 Aldrovandi, Ulisse 58, 64
 Aleshire, Sara 25, 26, 27
 Alloa, Emmanuel 128
 Almeida, Maria José 142
 Alsop, Joseph Wright 10, 46, 78, 128
 Altripp, Ina 52
 Amtmann, Théodore 141
 Andreae, Bernard 119, 124
 Antonaccio, Carla M. 2
 Aoyagi, Masanori 138
 Arafat, Karim W. 80
 Arena, Valentina 107
 Argentieri, Lorenzo 66, 67
 Armstrong, Gregory 152
 Artigas, Teresa 141
 Assman, Jan 20
 Audoly, Marion 7, 12, 78
 Aurigemma, Salvatore 133
 Avisseau-Broustet, Matilde 58, 64

 Badel, Christophe 103
 Baekeland, Frederick 84
 Bahrani, Zainab 156
 Bakhuizen, Simon Cornelis 40
 Baldassare, Ida 114
 Baldo, Gianluigi 103
 Balland, André 4
 Balmelle, Catherine 142
 Balty, Jean-Charles 142
 Baratte, François 2
 Bardill, Jonathan 8
 Bargas, Sebastian 137
 Bartman, Elizabeth 11, 12, 13, 16
 Barton, Thomas 157
 Barzanò, Alberto 105
 Bassett, Sarah 2, 8, 9, 16, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 161
 Baudrillard, Jean 20, 21, 79, 89
 Bauer, Franz Alto 148, 150
 Beagan, Mary 127
 Bean, George Ewart 25
 Beard, Mary 105, 129
 Beaujeu, Jean 4, 5, 7, 75
 Becatti, Giovanni 6, 7, 11, 78, 99, 102
 Belk, Russel W. 80
 Bergmann, Bettina 78, 119, 124, 127, 128, 129, 131, 141, 142, 158
 Bergmann, Marianne 142
 Berti, Nadia 104
 Berve, Helmut 35
 Beschi, Luigi 109
 Bettini, Maurizio 86
 Beyen, Hendrick Gerard 118, 119
 Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio 9
 Bing, Peter 54
 Blake McHam, Sarah 82, 89
 Blinkenberg, Christian Sørensen 28

 Blümner, Hugo 78
 Boardmann, John 2, 27, 56, 60, 62, 126
 Boffo, Laura 28, 30
 Bol, Peter Cornelis 123, 134
 Bonadeo, Alessia 14, 105
 Bonnafé, Edmond 78
 Borg, Barbara 160
 Borges, Cassandra J. 2
 Borza, Eugene 36
 Bottiglieri, Anna 107
 Bouet, Alain 140
 Bounia, Alexandra 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 44, 45, 78, 79, 86, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 118, 123, 129, 143, 160
 Bowes, Kim 142
 Bragantini, Irene 113, 114, 119, 120, 122, 124, 128
 Bravi, Alessandra 1, 4, 6, 7, 73, 98, 129, 130
 Brecoulaki, Hariclia 39
 Brilliant, Richard 119
 Brogan, Thomas 53
 Brosius, Maria 25
 Broucke, Pieter 6
 Brown, Peter 152, 154
 Brunn, Heinrich von 56
 Burn, Lucilla 46

 Cahill, Nick 37
 Calandra, Elena 109, 123, 129
 Calandrelli, Giovanni 67
 Callahan, John F. 86
 Cameron, Alan 56, 66
 Campbell, Ian 77
 Canfora, Luciano 3, 10
 Carandini, Andrea 92, 93, 96, 99, 107, 134
 Carawan, Edwin 159
 Cardinal, Roger 20, 21
 Carey, SORCHA 7, 72, 78, 81, 102, 103, 127, 129, 160
 Carlé, Martin 128
 Caruso, Ada 9
 Carvalho, António 142
 Caseau, Beatrice 76
 Casson, Lionel 3, 130
 Castagnoli, Ferdinando 72
 Caven, Brian 35
 Cazes, Daniel 142
 Celani, Alessandro 6, 7, 110
 Chaniotis, Angelos 28, 30
 Chankowski, Véronique 39
 Chapouthier, Fernande 66
 Chevallier, Raymond 78, 129
 Citroni Marchetti, Sandra 103
 Clarke, John R. 1, 119, 124
 Chesnut, Glenn F. 151, 154
 Classen, Constance 143
 Clay, Diskin 31
 Cleland, Liza 25
 Clemente, Guido 107
 Clifford, James 90
 Closa Fares, Josep 90
 Coarelli, Filippo 1, 5, 6, 107
 Cohen, Beth 125
 Colpo, Isabella 115
 Conte, Gian Biagio 83

- Coqueugniot, Gaëlle 50, 157
 Corsaro, Antonella 130
 Corso, Antonio 111
 Coudry, Marianne 107
 Courtés, Joseph 73
 Curran, John R. 140

 D'Arms, John H. 103
 D'Este, Margherita 38
 Dagron, Gilbert 148, 149, 152
 Dal Pozzo, Cassiano 82
 Dareggi, Gianna 106
 Dari-Mattiacci, Giuseppe 107
 Dassow, Eva von 23
 Dauster, Molly 107
 Davies, John 39
 De Angelis, Francesco 127
 De Lachenal, Lucilla 74
 De Maria, Sandro 97, 98
 De Simone, Antonio 138
 De Vos, Mariette 113, 114, 119, 120, 122, 124, 128
 Detlefsen, Sönnich Detlef Friedrich 73
 Di Marco, Massimo 65, 66
 Di Mino, Maria Rita 7, 8
 Dignas, Beate 25, 31, 74
 Dillery, John 30
 Dinsmoor, William Bell 4
 Dittenberger, Wilhelm 157
 Dorandi, Tiziano 56
 Drougou, Stella 36
 Dubois-Pelerin, Eva 111
 Dubouloz, Julien 84
 Dumont, Jean Christian 105
 Dunabin, Katherine 103, 127
 Duploux, Alain 156
 Dvornik, Francis 154
 Dwyer, Eugene 78, 90

 Ebersolt, Jean 148, 152, 153
 Eck, Werner 92
 Edgar, Katherine 84
 Edwards, Catharine 4, 107
 Ehlich, Werner 121
 El Abbadi, Mostafa 3
 Elsner, Jaś 3, 4, 8, 16, 20, 21, 27, 78, 87, 130, 143, 146, 147, 152, 154, 159, 160, 161
 Elvira, Miguel Ángel 141
 Emanuele, Daniele 105
 Erskin, Andrew 10
 Esmonde-Cleary, Simon 140
 Étienne, Roland 45, 129
 Evans, Arthur 2
 Everitt, Anthony 97, 101

 Favaretto, Irene 91
 Felici, Costanzo 57
 Ferri, Silvio 129
 Figueira, Thomas 49
 Findlen, Paula 7
 Fiorelli, Giuseppe 115
 Fischler, Susan 85
 Flessa, Nicolas 138

 Fowden, Garth 162
 Franci, Massimiliano 1, 3, 20, 33
 Francis, Eric David 31
 Fränkel, Max 10
 Fraser, Peter Marshall 3, 10, 25
 Friedländer, Ludwig 78
 Fuhrmann, Heinrich 118
 Furtwängler, Adolf 56

 Gabba, Emilio 107
 Gahtan, Maia Wellington 129
 Galli Calderini, Irene Ginevra 66
 Gallia, Andrew 157, 159
 Gasparri, Carlo 58, 60, 61
 Gavrilović, Nadežda 139
 Gazda, Elaine 11, 141
 Geertman, Herman 76
 Geiger, Joseph 6, 159
 Gernet, Louis 88
 Ghedini, Francesca 10, 13, 17, 111, 115, 116, 124
 Gill, Christopher 27, 83
 Gill, David W.J. 27
 Ginouvès, René 36
 Giroire, Cecile 103
 Goette, Hans Rupprecht 136
 Gonçalves, Luis Jorge Rodrigues 141
 Gori, Anton Francesco 69, 70
 Gow, Andrew Sydenham Farrar 55
 Grabar, André 151
 Graeve, Volkmar von 111, 118, 120
 Grassigli, Gian Luca 115
 Greimas, Algirdas J. 73
 Grimal, Pierre 72, 92, 93, 98, 99
 Groetembil, Sabine 141
 Gros, Pierre 7
 Groys, Boris 129
 Gruen, Erich 4, 5, 45
 Grüssinger, Ralf 45
 Gualandi, Maria Letizia 10, 13, 72, 94, 97, 98, 102, 109, 110, 111
 Guarducci, Margherita 74
 Guidi Toniato, Anna 74
 Guimier-Sorbets, Anne-Marie 66
 Günther, Wolfgang 26, 31, 75
 Gury, Françoise 116
 Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. 2, 43, 66, 67

 Hallett, Christopher 119, 124, 128
 Hallof, Klaus 136
 Hamilton, Richard 2, 25, 119
 Hanfmann, George M. 138
 Hannestad, Niels 139, 141
 Hansen, Esther 9, 11, 42, 45, 52, 53
 Harder, Annette 42
 Harris, Diane 2, 25
 Harrison, Evelyn B. 132
 Hartmann, Andreas 2, 161
 Harward, Vernon 46
 Haug, Annette 6
 Haury, Auguste 95
 Heinen, Heinz 76
 Helbig, Wolfgang 74
 Hellenkemper Salies, Gisela 123

- Henig, Martin 62
 Hermann, Karl Friedrich 78
 Heurgon, Jacques 124
 Higbie, Carolyn 28, 123
 Hoepfner, Wolfram 37, 40, 45
 Hölkeskamp, Karl-Joachim 103, 107
 Holleran, Claire 139, 143
 Holliday, Peter J. 5
 Hölscher, Tonio 73, 129
 Holum, Kenneth 152, 153, 154
 Höschele, Regina 54
 Howard, Seymour 10
 Hubbard, William 81
 Hülsen, Julius 146
 Humphreys, John H. 149
 Hunt, Edward D. 152
 Hutchinson, Gregory 54

 Iacopi, Irene 112
 Isager, Jacob 4, 81, 87, 102, 129

 Jacoby, Felix 23, 29, 30, 80
 Jacquemin, Anne 40
 James, Liz 8
 Janin, Raymond 148, 152
 Jenkyns, Richard 160
 Jones, Nathaniel 13, 17, 118, 119, 120
 Jucker, Hans 78

 Kaldellis, Anthony 161
 Kalevrezou, Iole 153
 Kaltsas, Nicolaos 123
 Karamitrou-Mentessidi, Georgia 36
 Kardos, Marie-José 99
 Karlsson, Lars 43
 Katákis, Stylianos 142
 Keesling, Catherine 73
 Kinney, Dale 119
 Kleiner, Diana E. 85
 Klengel-Brandt, Evelyn 22
 König, Jason 7, 157
 Kopytoff, Igor 79
 Kossatz-Deissmann, Anneliese 67
 Kottaridi, Angeliki 115
 Krasser, Helmut 136
 Kristeller, Paul Oskar 128
 Kunze, Max 45, 50
 Kuttner, Ann 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 43, 47, 48, 51, 129

 La Regina, Adriano 7, 73, 74
 La Rocca, Eugenio 11, 98, 130
 Laboury, Dimitri 22
 Lafon, Xavier 86, 93
 Lapatin, Kenneth 27, 54, 67, 78, 161
 Laroche, Didier 40
 Latini, Alexia 106
 Laurenzi, Luciano 24
 Lauter, Hans 133
 Lazzeretti, Alessandra 12, 13, 91, 103, 123
 Leach, Eleanor Winsor 86, 115, 119, 124, 127
 Lehmann, Karl 15, 89
 Lelli, Emanuele 66

 Leone, Anna 140
 Lepelley, Claude 77
 Leveau, Philippe 141
 Lichtheim, Miriam 19
 Ligorio, Pirro 56
 Lilibaki-Akamati, Maria 35
 Linant De Bellefonds, Pascale 56
 Linders, Tullia 25, 26, 74
 Liverani, Paolo 7, 13, 14, 21, 22, 73, 74
 Loewy, Emanuel 178
 Lorenz, Thuri 132
 Lowenthal, Dolores 80
 Lukaszewicz, Adam 76

 Ma, John 31
 Magnelli, Enrico 55
 Maiuri, Amedeo 25
 Manacorda, Daniele 116
 Mañas, Irene 136
 Manderscheid, Hubertus 140, 150
 Mangiatordi, Anna 98, 99
 Mango, Cyril 8, 31, 148, 152, 153
 Martindale, Charles 80
 Marvin, Miranda 11, 13, 78, 98, 127, 143
 Marzoff, Peter 40
 Mastrosera, Ida Gilda 11, 14, 100, 102, 107
 Mathews, Thomas F. 118, 155
 Mattusch, Carol C. 86, 129, 131, 134, 135
 Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander 27
 McAleer, J. Philip 138
 McDonald, William 15, 143, 146
 McDonnell, Myles 4
 McKenzie, Judith 157
 McLuhan, Marshall 128
 Meneghini, Roberto 7, 130
 Micheli, Maria Elisa 56, 57, 64, 103
 Mielsch, Harald 45, 51, 118
 Migeotte, Léopold 33
 Miles, Margaret 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 35, 39, 78, 84, 91, 93, 94, 95, 119, 123, 129, 158
 Moesch, Valeria 131, 132
 Mohler, Samuel Loomis 89
 Mols, Stephan 118, 119, 120, 124, 125
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 80, 81
 Moormann, Eric 112, 118, 119, 120, 124, 125
 Moortgat-Correns, Ursula 22
 Moreno, Paolo 45, 115, 118
 Mratschek-Halfmann, Sigrid 102
 Mugellesi, Rosanna 111
 Müller, Karl Wilhelm Ludwig 23
 Müller, Sabine 66
 Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang 148
 Mundell Mango, Marlia 76
 Munro, Beth 137
 Murphy, Trevor Morgan 127, 157, 160
 Musti, Domenico 67, 109

 Nakamura, Rui 127
 Nappo, Salvatore Ciro 103
 Narducci, Emanuele 97, 98, 99, 100, 101
 Neer, Richard T. 3
 Neri, Francesco 2, 161

- Neudecker, Richard 11, 15, 17, 86, 98, 127, 131, 143, 159
 Nevett, Lisa 107
 Nicholls, Matthew 6, 157
 Nicole, Jules 7, 75
 Nielsen, Inge 36, 40
 Niemeier, Jörg-Peter 52
 Nogales Basarrate, Trinidad 142
 Noguera Celdrán, José Miguel 144

 Oakley, John H. 125, 126
 Oehmke, Steffi 64, 68
 Ogden Jack 27
 Oikonomopoulou, Katerina 157
 Oliver, Andrew 27
 Olson, S. Douglas 35
 Orru, Cécile 41
 Osborne, Robin 161
 Östenberg, Ida 5, 7, 151, 158

 Page, Denys Lionel 55
 Palombi, Domenico 6
 Pani, Mario 107
 Paoletti, Maurizio 91, 96, 100, 103
 Paolucci, Fabrizio 12, 13, 14
 Papadimitriou, V. 24
 Papadopoulos, John 24
 Pape, Magrit 78, 119
 Papi, Emanuele 77, 92
 Parisi, Antonella 72
 Parisi Presicce, Claudio 74
 Parkinson, Richard 157
 Parlasca, Klaus 118
 Paton, W.R. 67, 68, 69
 Peter, Hermann 104
 Pearce, Susan M. 2, 79, 89, 144
 Peiresc, Claude-Nicolas Fabri de 64
 Pékár, Thomas 143
 Perry, Ellen 143
 Pesce, Gennaro 138
 Petersen, Lauren Hackworth 78, 135
 Petrain, David 54, 157
 Petrović, Petar 139
 Pfister, Friedrich 2
 Pfuhl, Ernst 118
 Pinkwart, Doris 53
 Pinna Caboni, Beatrice 130
 Pinto, John A. 15
 Pisapia, Maria Stella 115, 116
 Pittia, Sylvie 84
 Plantzos, Dimitris 56
 Platt, Verity 28, 53, 122, 123, 128, 161
 Plisecka, Anna E. 107
 Pollitt, Jerome 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 78, 127
 Porter, James 43
 Potrandolfo, Angela 113, 114
 Prêtre, Clarisse 119
 Prioux, Évelyne 2, 3, 15, 16, 43, 48, 54, 65, 68, 78, 82, 86, 89, 110, 114, 160
 Pritchett, William Kendrick 118
 Prusac, Marina 139
 Pucci, Giuseppe 103
 Puerta, Carmen 141

 Radley, Alan 79
 Radt, Wolfgang 45, 51
 Raeder, Joachim 133
 Rajac, Tessa 157
 Ramage, Nancy 138
 Rawson, Elisabeth 82
 Rea, Rossella 7
 Reggiani, Anna Maria 133
 Reinach, Salomon 78
 Reitzenstein, Richard 56
 Reynolds, Leighton Durham 161
 Rice, Ellen E. 47
 Richardson, Rufus 25
 Richter, Gisela 27, 56
 Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo 45, 53, 134
 Rieche, Anita 52
 Rigsby, Kent 94, 158
 Ritter, Stefan 58, 64
 Robert, Renaud 5, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
 Robertson, Martin 4, 126
 Rodriguez Oliva, Pedro 137
 Rogers, Daniel 103, 158
 Roller, Duane W. 65
 Romizzi, Lucia 115
 Rooses, Max 64
 Rosati, Gianpiero 111
 Rosso, Emanuelle 142
 Rouveret, Agnès 81, 103, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 118, 127
 Roux, Georges 2
 Roy, Jim 130
 Rubens, Peter Paul 57, 65
 Ruelens, Charles 64
 Ruggieri Tricoli, Maria Clara 10, 11
 Rups, Marjolyn 3
 Rutledge, Steven 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 78, 102, 106, 110, 129, 159, 160

 Şahin, Mehmet Çetin 25
 Saladino, Vincenzo 99
 Salles, Catherine 6
 Salowey, Christina A. 127
 Salvadori, Monica 114
 Salvo, Giulia 10, 13, 17, 115, 116, 124
 Salzmann, Dieter 127
 Sande, Siri 118
 Sanders, Helen 46
 Sandys, John Edwin 82
 Sangiorgi, Giorgio 60, 61
 Santoro, Sara 113
 Sanzi di Mino, Maria Rita 119
 Saradi-Mendelovici, Helen 8, 151
 Sauron, Gilles 99, 119
 Scagliarini Corlàita, Daniela 112
 Schalles, Hans-Joachim 45
 Schefold, Karl 111, 118, 127
 Scheibler, Ingeborg 118, 119, 121, 124
 Schettino, Maria Teresa 55, 102
 Schmidt, Stefan 126
 Schnapp, Alain 80, 82
 Schnurbusch, Dirk 103
 Schober, Arnold 45, 52
 Schörner, Günther 136

- Schultz, Peter 39
 Schützenberger, M. 131
 Schwander, Ernst-Ludwig 37
 Scuderi, Rita 95
 Seiler, Florian 134, 135, 136
 Seipel, Wilfried 118
 Sengoku-Haga, Kyoko 138
 Sens, Alexander 66, 67
 Serrano, Claire 141
 Sevinç, Nurten 127
 Shatzman, Israel 92, 99
 Shaya, Josephine 2, 3, 24, 26, 28, 80, 123, 158
 Shiner, Larry 128
 Slater, William J. 103
 Slavazzi, Fabrizio 134
 Small, Jocelyn Penny 132
 Smith, Roland R.R. 140, 161
 Sorabji, Richard 86
 Spar, Ira 23
 Spawforth, Antony, T.S. 3
 Sperti, Luigi 142
 Spier, Jeffrey 62, 63
 Spinola, Giandomenico 11, 77
 Squire, Michael 58, 69, 128
 Stein-Holkeskamp, Elke 102, 103
 Steinby, Eva Margareta 72
 Stephani, Ludolf 56
 Stéphanus, Francis 141
 Steuben, Hans von 132
 Stewart, Andrew 15, 39, 43, 48, 50, 79, 143, 158
 Stewart Jones 74
 Stewart, Peter 75
 Stewart, Susan 52, 79
 Stirling, Lea 9, 15, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 158
 Strocka, Volker 51
 Strong, Donald E. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 72, 129
 Sullivan, John Patrick 89
 Sydenham, Edward Allen 56

 Tanner, Jeremy 3, 10, 15, 30, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 78, 119, 124
 Thomas, Rosalind 25
 Thomason, Allison Karmel 1, 20
 Thonemann, Peter 161
 Tomei, Maria Antonietta 14
 Torelli, Mario 67, 72
 Travlos, John 133, 136
 Trinquier, Jean 68
 Tronchin, Francesca C. 78, 83
 Too, Yun Lee 42

 Unger, Eckhard 22

 Vacirca, Maria Désirée 10, 11
 Valentini, Roberto 186
 Vallois, René 118, 121

 Van Bremen, Riet 85
 Van Buren, Albert William 119
 Van Minnen, Peter 76
 Van Voorhis, Julie 139
 Vandenbrouck, Melanie 144
 Vansina, Jan 73
 Vaquerizo Gil, Desiderio 144
 Vasić, Miloje 139
 Vasiliev, Asen 127
 Vickers, Michael 27, 31
 Vico, Giambattista 107
 Vikan, Gary 154
 Viscogliosi, Alessandro 129
 Vlassopoulos, Kostas 33
 Vollenweider, Marie Louise 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64
 Volpe, Rita 72
 Vorster, Christiane 135, 138, 141, 142
 Vössing, Konrad 103, 105

 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew 103, 107, 111, 114
 Webb, Pamela 45, 53
 Weber, Karl 131
 Weber, Marta 134
 Weeber, Karl-Wilhelm 103
 Weiner, Annette 88
 Weis, H. Anne 93, 96, 123
 Welch, Katherine E. 78
 Whitmarsh, Tim 157
 Wiemer, Hans-Ulrich 28, 30, 40
 Wilkinson, Helen 84
 Williams, Dyfri 27, 39
 Wilson, Nigel Guy 161
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim 74, 90
 Winter, Franz 51, 53
 Wiseman, Timothy Peter 107, 159
 Witschel, Christian 140
 Wojcik, Maria Rita 98
 Woods, David 152
 Woolf, Greg 7, 157
 Wormell, Donald Ernest Wilson 38
 Wortley, John 152, 154
 Wyke, Maria 85
 Wyler, Stéphanie 119, 122, 124, 127

 Zaccaria Ruggiu, Annapaola 94, 103, 107
 Zanda, Emanuela 107
 Zanker, Paul 13, 47, 53, 64, 68, 98, 127, 159
 Zarmakoupi, Mantha 85, 86
 Zecchini, Giuseppe 104
 Zhivkova, Liudmila 127
 Zimi, Eleni 39
 Zimmer, Gerhard 84, 123, 129
 Zimmermann, Martin 45
 Zucchetti, Giuseppe 76

Index D. Notable Greek, Latin and Egyptian Words*

<i>academia</i>	86, 98, 133	<i>eculei argentei</i>	92
<i>acta triumphorum</i>	105	<i>eikonidion</i> [εἰκονίδιον]	76
<i>adyton</i>	27	<i>ekloge</i>	55
<i>aedacula</i>	119, 120, 121	<i>ekphrasis</i>	14, 15, 16, 67, 69, 71, 89, 93, 150, 151
<i>aedilis</i>	5, 7, 95, 97	<i>emblema</i>	92, 111, 121
<i>agalma</i>	89	<i>epistylia</i>	41
<i>agora</i>	33, 35, 36, 44, 46, 148, 158	<i>epyllion</i>	65
<i>akra</i>	109	<i>eques</i>	91, 92, 104
<i>akropolis</i>	3, 24, 35, 40, 52, 98, 109, 132, 133, 134, 136, 147, 148, 151	<i>evocatio</i>	4, 5
<i>alabastron</i>	124	<i>ex manubiis</i>	130
<i>aletheia</i> [ἀλήθεια]	87	<i>ex oriente lux</i>	19
<i>ambulatio</i>	97, 99	<i>exetasmós</i>	25
<i>anathema</i> [ἀναθήμα]	76, 122	<i>exhedra</i>	6, 16, 114
<i>andriantepoiika</i>	43, 48	<i>falsarius</i>	57, 69
<i>andrones</i>	37	<i>fanum</i>	75, 92, 93, 94, 95, 100
<i>Asklepieion</i>	27, 31, 66, 109	<i>fastigium</i>	76
<i>atriolum</i>	97,	<i>forum</i>	5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 72, 73, 75, 92, 95, 110, 118, 127, 140, 144, 148, 149, 150, 153, 155, 159
<i>atrium</i>	6, 72, 92, 94, 95, 97, 115, 116, 131	<i>Galene</i> [Γαλήνη]	55
<i>Attalica peripetasmata</i>	91	<i>geras</i>	88
<i>auctoritas</i>	99	<i>graminae hastae</i>	92
<i>aurea aetas</i>	135	<i>graphe anathematon</i> (γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων)	76
<i>bacchantes</i>	87, 99	<i>gymnasium</i>	85, 86, 97, 99, 131
<i>basileia</i>	154	<i>haty-aa</i>	21
<i>Basileus</i>	35, 40	<i>Heraion</i>	26, 109
<i>basilike</i>	151	<i>heroön</i>	36
<i>brevis auri et argenti</i>	76	<i>Hermathena</i>	98, 99
<i>candelabrum</i>	91, 100	<i>Hermerakles</i>	98
<i>canopus</i>	86, 133, 134	<i>Heuremata</i>	82
<i>capitolium</i>	4, 12, 139, 146, 148	<i>hippodromos</i>	148, 149, 150, 155
<i>ensor</i>	7, 73, 75	<i>hortus</i>	11, 13, 14, 72, 98, 143
<i>circus</i>	74, 148, 149, 150	<i>humanitas</i>	83, 85
<i>citrus</i>	102	<i>hydria</i>	36, 91
<i>coenae</i>	104	<i>imago</i>	99
<i>cognomen</i>	68	<i>imperium</i>	6
<i>commemoratorium</i>	76	<i>impluvium</i>	10, 92, 94
<i>coniferae cupressacae</i>	102	<i>Indos</i> [Ἰνδός]	66
<i>convenientia</i>	98	<i>insania</i>	100, 103
<i>cryptoporticus</i>	112, 114	<i>intus canere</i>	95
<i>cubiculum</i>	94	<i>kathairesis</i>	25
<i>cunctator</i>	91	<i>keimelia</i>	88
<i>cupiditas</i>	12, 91	<i>kentauroi</i>	8, 31, 59, 62, 63
<i>curator statuarum</i>	75, 76	<i>kharis</i>	65
<i>curatores aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum</i>	75	<i>Kharites</i>	50, 51, 53, 116
<i>dactyliotheca</i>	54, 55, 64, 68, 69, 70	<i>Koinon</i>	42
<i>decorum</i>	11, 83, 85	<i>Komodía</i>	31
<i>deversorium vitiorum</i>	133		
<i>dolium</i>	138		
<i>domus</i>	7, 13, 14, 72, 82, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 107, 130, 145,		

* Transliterations are used throughout. We have included in [] the original Greek spelling in the cases where untransliterated terms used in the text.

- kore* 36, 50, 51, 133, 134
kouros 36, 51
krater 122
kylikeion 39
kylix 27
- lararium* 94, 99
legatio 91, 92, 93, 95, 97, 100
leges cibariae 107
lekythos 126
leptotes 65
lethe [λήθη] 87
lex 75, 107
Lex Aemilia 107
Lex Antia 107
Lex Cornelia 107
Lex Didia 107
Lex Fannia 107
Lex Licinia 107
Lex Orchia 107
liber 74, 76, 89, 99
libertus 93, 104
litis aestimatio 93
litterae publicae 75
locus 74, 82, 99
luxuria 12, 94, 100, 103
lycaum 86
- magnificentia* 94, 95, 100, 104
magnificentia publica 94, 95, 100
mainades 61, 99
mensa 100, 103, 105, 106, 107
mensa citrea 100
mensarum insaniae 100
Methe [Μέθη] 66
metis 98, 100
mimesis 69
mirabilia 82
mnema 88
moderatio 98
monumentum/monumenta rerum gestarum 5, 6, 8, 11, 73, 82, 87, 99
mos maiorum 94
Mousai 5, 31, 87, 126
Mouseion 9, 10, 13, 42, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53
Musaeum 86
- naos* 27, 109, 122
negotium 98
nikai 41
nymphaeum 133
nymphaion 146, 150
- oikistes* 39
oikos 9
oporothea 124
optimates 104
opus nobile 132
ornamenta 8, 17, 75
ornamenta gymnasiode 98
ostraka 76
otium 13, 97, 98
ovatio 44
- pagina* 74
paideia 85, 86
palaestra 86, 98, 99
paradosis [παράδοσις] 76
Parthenon 2, 27, 28, 52, 93, 132, 161
patellae 92
paterae 21, 92
peplaisiomenos [πεπλαισιωμένος] 120
peplos 27, 131
peristylum 10, 40, 44, 92, 93, 98, 110, 112, 115, 116, 129, 131, 132, 135, 137, 144
phalerae 91
pinacotheca 18, 86, 97, 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 119, 124
pinax [πίναξ] 2, 3, 16, 17, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122
pinax athyrotos [πίναξ ἀθύροτος] 120
pinax embletos [πίναξ ἐμβλήτος] 121
pinax tethyromenos [πίναξ τεθυρωμένος] 120
piscinarii 13
pocula Thericlia 91
podium 7
poecile 86
politikos aner 98
porticula 110, 118
porticus 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 44, 72, 86, 110, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 159
praefectus classis 131
prepon 89
privata luxuria 94, 100
proc(urator) Aug(usti) a pinacothecis 75
pronaos 27, 109
propraetura 92, 94
prudentia 98
prytaneum 86, 91
putealia sigillata 97
- quaestor* 91, 93
- rationem* 75
res traditae 75
romanitas 146, 148
rudimenta 111
- sacellum* 52, 129
sacrarium domesticum 91, 99
sapientia 100
satyros 41, 50, 58, 61, 135, 137, 139, 141, 144
sector 93, 131
Seirenes 113, 122
sesem(menon) akhrest(on) [σεσημ(μένον) ἄχρηστ(ον)] 76
sigilla 92, 93, 97
signa 74, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 111
signa Megarica 98
silenoi 41, 61-62, 99, 124, 133, 134
silva 14, 92, 106
Sostratos [ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ] 59
spectaculum 124
spolia 4-6, 8-9, 12-13, 17, 46-47, 49-51, 119, 127, 151
stadium 98
stele 24, 29, 30, 31, 127
stibadium 133
stoa 3, 131, 132, 133
stoa poikile 133

- strigilis* 35
suburbana 92, 95
symposia 9, 10, 30, 134
synopsis 75, 77, 150, 152
synthesis 54

tabellae 110, 111, 112, 114
tabulae 74, 91, 93, 97, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115
tabulae signorum 74
tabulae triumphales 110
temenos 98
thalamos 51, 88
thaumasia 81
Theoi Soteres 66
thesauron 2, 30
thesaurus 7

thuya 11, 100, 102, 103
thuya articulate 102
thyrsos 135
toreuton epos 65
Tragodia 31
tryphe 39
Tryphon [ΤΡΥΦΩΝ] 55, 56, 57
tykhai 148
tyrannos 35

utilitas 85

varietas 7, 8, 18

xoanon [ξόανον] 76

Index E. General Subjects

- Academia (of Cicero) 13, 97
Adonis (image of) 48
Aedes Concordiae, see Index B: Roma
Akademia, see Index B: Athenai
Akropolis, see Index B: Athenai
Alexandros the Great (dedications by) 28
Alexandros the Great (portraits of) 47, 52, 94
Alexandros the Great (spoliation by) 39, 41, 43, 47
Alexandros the Great's table 2, 106
Alkaios (portrait of) 53
altar 2, 42
Altar of Zeus, see Index B: Pergamon, Great Altar
amazon 14, 134
ancestralism 157, 159
Antigonid Dynasty 46, 49
antiquarianism 4, 22, 25, 28, 31, 44, 55, 65–66, 73, 80, 81, 82, 156–157, 159–160, 161
Anubis (statue of) 75
Aphrodite, see Index C: Aphrodite
Aphrodite (statue of) 52
Aphrodite of Knidos (statue of), see Index C: Praxiteles
Apollon (statue of) 49, 72
Apollonios (portrait of) 53
Apoxyomenos (statue of), see Index C: Lysippos
Arch of Constantinus, see Index B: Roma
Archaic Period 2, 33, 36, 50, 51, 73, 109, 156, 158, 159
archaism (in art) 51, 53, 135, 143
Argonautai, see Index C
art history (development of) 3, 15, 18, 30, 32, 43–46, 48, 50–53, 55, 77, 78, 81, 110, 111, 127, 129, 130, 136, 156
art market (Greek) 11, 46–51
art market (Roman) 13, 46, 49, 50, 53, 73, 96, 118, 139
Asklepios (statue of) 139, 144, 145
Athena (statue of) 24, 27, 31, 52, 98, 100, 132, 142
Athena Parthenos, see Index C: Pheidias
Athena Parthenos (copy after Pheidias) 52–53
Athena Promakhos, see Index C: Pheidias
Athenaion, see Index B: Syrakousai
Atrium Libertatis, see Index B: Roma
Attalid dynasty 10–11, 45–53, 104
auction 12, 46, 50, 53, 110, 140
Augustan age 6–7, 13, 55, 60, 64, 66–68, 127, 159
Augustan reception of Hellenistic art 54–71

Balakros (portrait of) 53
banquet 9, 47–48, 102–108, 112
see also Festival Pavilion of Ptolemaios II, Index B: Alexandria
banqueting couches 41, 104, 106
basanite 130
Base (in room of Palace v of Pergamon) 50, 53
Base for Aiginetan spolia (Pergamon) 49–50
Base for Athena (Pergamon) 52
Base for battle statuary (Pergamon) 53
Base for spolia from Oreios (Pergamon) 49–50
Base for three sculptors (Myron, Praxiteles, Xenokrates) (Pergamon) 51
baths 2, 8, 12, 16, 140, 141
Baths of Agrippa, see Index B: Roma
Baths of Caracalla, see Index B: Roma
Baths of Zeuxippos, see Index B: Constantinopolis
books-papyrus rolls-codices 22, 54–56, 65–71, 158–160
booty, see plunder
Boxers (sculptural group) 72
Bronze Age 21
bronze from Korinthos 11, 12, 92
bronze horses (statues of) 74
bronze sculpture (large) 4, 14, 33, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51, 52, 72, 74, 82, 92, 122, 123, 130, 131–132, 134–135, 140, 144, 149, 151, 159, 160
bronze sculpture (small) 14, 46, 53, 92, 106, 123, 138, 157
bronze tablets 81

cameos 55–70
Campus Martius, see Index B: Roma
canon 156, 159, 160–162
canopus 133
Capitoline Hill, see Index B: Roma, Mons Capitolinus
Capitolium, see Index B: Roma
Carthaginians 9, 34, 104
catalogue, see also inventory, 93
censor, see Index D: *censor*
centaur, see Index D: *kentauroi*
Ceres (statue of) 72
chasing (chased silver) 104
citronwood 100, 102–103
tables of citrus 11, 102
Classical Period 2–3, 33, 35, 36, 46, 49, 52, 110, 119, 124, 127, 130, 134, 156–157, 158, 159, 161
classicism (in artwork) 51, 52, 110, 111, 113
classification 3, 10, 15, 20, 43–44, 76, 77, 79, 82, 156–157, 159, 160, 161
client kings 55–71
codex, see books-papyrus rolls-codices
collecting discourse/theory 17–18, 20, 72–73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 90, 129, 143–144, 156–157, 158–159, 161–162
collections
in Alexandria 3–4, 9–11, 47–48, 54–55, 64, 123, 157
in Constantinopolis 8, 144, 146–155, 160–161
in Pergamon 3–4, 9–11, 45–53, 157
in Roma 4–8, 11–15, 72–77, 110, 111, 129, 156–158, 159–160, 161–162
of gems (see also Index D: *dactyliotheca*) 1, 6, 15, 48, 54–71, 160
of paintings (see also Index D: *pinacotheca*) 3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16–17, 46–48, 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 124, 128, 130
of portraits 3, 7, 11–12, 13, 15, 47, 53, 91, 98, 142, 158
of statuary 4, 6, 8, 10–11, 13, 45–53, 72–77, 91, 142–144, 146–151
virtual 1–2, 15–17, 24, 28–31, 48, 52, 54–55, 69–70, 78, 118–128
College of Aesculapius and Hygeia 75
columns 2, 10, 17, 41, 73, 74, 76, 77, 112, 159
connoisseurship 14, 30, 44, 83, 84, 85, 127, 143
cookbooks 35–36
copy 10–11, 13–14, 52–53, 143, 156, 158, 160
crocodile 133
crystal ladle 106
cuirass of Amasis 30–31
cult 25–30, 161
cultural patrimony 6, 19, 30, 32, 46, 47, 51, 72–77

dactyliotheca (see also Index D: *dactyliotheca*) 54–71
Dancer from Palace v of Pergamon 51, 53
decorum, see Index D: *decorum*
Demeter (statue of) 76

- desacralisation 4
 desemantisation 73
 Dionysiac symbolism 58–63, 66–67
Dionysos (cult of, at Pergamon) 50
Dionysos (painting of), see Index B: Pergamon, *Dionysos*
 domestic art 9–15, 37–38, 119, 137–145
 Domus Aurea, see Index B: Roma
 Domus Liviae, see Index B: Roma
Doryphoros (statue of), see Index C: Polykleitos
 drunkenness 58, 62, 66–67, 70
- Early Christian (historical period) 8–9, 18, 146–155, 161–162
 eclecticism 7–9, 18, 127
 Egyptian Museum, see Index B: Firenze
 Egyptian Style 13
 ekphrasis, see Index D: *ekphrasis*
 encyclopaedia 7–8, 20, 119, 127
 engraving (engraved gems, see also intaglio) 1, 6, 15, 54–71
 epigrams 1, 2, 12, 14, 15, 16, 40, 43, 48, 54–71, 82, 89, 94, 106–107, 114, 160
 epiphany 28–30, 123
 epistemology 156, 159–161
 epitaphs 2
 Eros (artistic representations of – and their symbolism) 48, 52, 56–63, 67–68, 137
Eros (statue of), see Index C: Praxiteles
 Esagila 22
 Esquiline Hill, see Index B: Roma, Mons Esquilinus
 evidence 15–16, 18, 80, 81, 82, 86, 109, 111, 156, 157, 159, 160
- Farnese Bull* (sculptural group) 72
Farnese Hercules (statue) 76, 145
Female torsos with vegetal “skirts” (sculpture of) 53
 Festival Pavilion of Ptolemaios II, see Index B: Alexandria
 fish 13, 34, 35–36, 43
 floor mosaic, see mosaic
Flora (statue of) 72
 fluorite 105
 forum 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 92, 95
 Forum of Augustus, see Index B: Roma
 Forum of Caesar, see Index B: Roma
 Forum of Constantinus, see Index B: Constantinopolis
 Forum of Traianus, see Index B: Roma
- gardens, see Index D: *hortus*
 Horti Asiniani, see Index B: Roma
 Horti Lamiani, see Index B: Roma
 Horti Maecenatis, see Index B: Roma
 Horti Sallustiani, see Index B: Roma
 Horti Serviliani, see Index B: Roma
- genre 9, 25, 119, 122, 124, 127
 giant 141
 gift–exchange 19, 21, 25–28, 79, 88, 89, 90
 gigantism 40–41
Gigantomakhia (panel relief from Pergamon) 53
 gold bullion 39
 Graces, see Index D: *Kharites*
Granikos Monument, see Index C: Lysippos
 grave sites 2, 36, 88, 156
 heros’ 2, 36, 161
 Makedonian 36, 39, 115
 guidebooks 30
- Hellenic Period 2, 3, 36, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161
 Hellenisation 11, 13
 Hellenistic Period 2, 3–4, 9–11, 15, 28–31, 45–53, 54–71, 118, 124, 127
Hera (statue of) 52
 Herakles 98
 Herakles (artistic representations of – and their symbolism) 58–59, 63–64, 67–68
 Herakles epitrapezios, see Index C: Lysippos
 Herakles freeing Prometheus (sculptural group) 53
 Hercules (statue of) 73, 74, 75, 76, 98
- herm 52, 53, 132, 134
Hermaphrodite (fragment of) 53
 hero 2, 58, 140, 146, 150, 154
 worship of heroes 2, 4, 10, 14, 21, 26, 29, 30, 36, 39, 146, 149, 150, 151, 154, 161
Herodotos (portrait of) 53
Hesione (sculpture of) 53
Hestia (statue of) 72, 98
 Hippodromos, see Index B: Constantinopolis
 hippopotamus 137
 history of art 3, 10, 15, 30, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 56, 127, 128
 history of collecting 1–18, 25, 30, 33, 78, 79, 143, 156, 157
 Holy Land 152–155
Homeros (portrait of) 53
 horses, bronze 74
 houses 137–145
 Hyksos 21
- iconatrophie 73
 identity
 communal and individual 2–3, 19, 33–35, 73, 80, 81, 83–88, 95, 156, 158, 159
 cultural 15, 19, 156, 159
 objects and identity 2–3, 15, 38
- imperial family 9–11, 13–14, 55, 60, 63, 64, 65–66, 68, 76, 118
 inscriptions 2, 5, 8, 16, 25–31, 49, 51, 73, 75, 76–77, 114, 156, 157, 158, 159
 intaglio 47, 48, 54–56, 67–71
 inventory 2, 3, 7, 24–31, 73–77, 100, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127
Isis (statue of) 75
Iuppiter (statue of) 74
- jewels 12, 25, 48, 54–71, 76, 139, 143, 151
- Kallisthenes* (portrait of) 73
Kharites (statues of, see also Index C: Boupalos) 50, 53
Knidia, see Index C: Praxiteles, *Aphrodite of Knidos*
 knowledge 18, 19, 20, 156–162
Kolosos of Rhodos, Index B: Rhodos
kore (statuary genre, see also Index D: *kore*) 50, 51, 134
 Korinthian vases 4, 11, 12, 101, 105
 Kouretes, see Index C
kouros (statuary genre, see also Index D: *kouros*) 51
Kouros Pisoni 134
 Kulturpolitik 45
- Lady of Syrakousai* (ship of Hieron II, tyrant of Syrakousai) 43
Laokoon (sculptural group) 72
 Late Antique (historical period) 8–9, 18, 137–145, 158
Leda and the swan (replica after Timotheos) 52
 Leskhe of the Knidians, see Index B: Delphoi
 library 3, 9–10, 11, 13, 15, 157, 158, 161
 Library of Alexandria, see Index B: Alexandria

- Library of Ashurbanipal, see Index B: Nineveh
 Library of Asinius Pollio, see Index B: Roma, Asinii Pollionis Monumenta
 Library of Khenerkopeshef, see Index B: Deir el Medina
 Library of Pergamon, see Index B: Pergamon
 lions (artistic representations of – and their symbolism) 59, 63, 67–68
 literary collection 1, 2, 7, 16, 22, 43, 54–71, 89, 90, 161
 local history 3, 28–30, 158, 160, 161
 looting, see plunder
 love (representing the power of) 58–60, 63, 67–68
 Lupercal, see Index B: Roma
 luxury (see also Index D: *tryphe*) 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 33–35, 39, 41, 43, 46, 93, 94, 96, 101, 102–108, 110, 116
 luxury objects 4, 9, 11, 12, 14, 46–48, 75, 93, 102–108, 123, 143
- mainades, see Index D: *mainades*
 Makedonian War, First 49
 Makedonian War, Second 50
 Manlius Vulso, Gnaeus (triumph of), see triumph
 masterpiece 7, 10, 11, 14, 109, 110, 116, 129, 132, 143, 158
 material culture 1–2, 156, 157, 160, 161
 Mausoleum of Augustus, see Index B: Roma
 Meleagros, (house of), see Index B: Pompeii
 memory 3, 7, 15, 19, 20, 23, 26, 73, 77, 156, 157
 Menorah 131
 miracle 28–30, 161
 Monumenta of Asinius Pollio, see Index B: Roma
 mosaic 157
 floor 36, 43, 44, 70, 115
 wall 115, 116
 Mouseion of Alexandria, see Index B: Alexandria
 mummy 159
 mural painting 1, 3, 16, 27, 43, 58, 118–124, 127, 128
 Murrhine vessels 11, 105–106
 museology 1, 18, 77, 79, 80, 82, 86, 88, 90
 museum 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 14, 19, 22, 32, 79–80, 82, 86, 88, 90, 110, 115, 129, 156, 158, 159, 160
- Nemean lion 106
 Neo-classicism 52
 Nile 41
 Niobidai 13
 nostalgia 2, 4, 17, 98
- obelisk 23
 objects and identity, see identity
 obsidian 135
 orientalizing fashion 21
- palace 8, 9–10, 12–13, 16–17, 22, 40, 43, 44, 47–52, 156, 160
 Palatine Hill, see Index B: Roma, Mons Palatinus
 Panathenaic procession 27
 panel painting 17, 35, 39, 41, 44, 47, 50, 118–128
 Pantheon, see Index B: Roma
 papyrus rolls, see books-papyrus rolls-codices
 Parian marble 76
 Parthenon, see Index B: Athenai
 patronage 10, 158, 160
 Persian art 48
 picture gallery, see collections (of painting)
 Plataian Tripod 149
- plunder (see also Index D: *spolia*) 4–6, 8–9, 12–13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 38–39, 43, 44, 47–50, 72–73, 78, 87, 89, 143, 160
 Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (triumph of), see triumph
 popes 76
 porphyry 139, 149
 Porticus Metelli, see Index B: Roma
 portrait collection, see collections
 portraits 158
 of authors 11, 53
 private collection 1, 9–15, 15–17, 21, 22, 23, 48, 50–51, 74, 81, 83, 85, 111, 157, 158
 privatization 73
 procession 5, 10, 27, 35, 41–43, 44, 158
 Propylaia, see Index B: Athenai
 proto-museological 3
 provenance 2, 3, 7, 14, 18
 heroic 2, 4, 14, 28–30
 Ptolemaic dynasty 9–11, 46–48, 54–55, 65–66, 68–71, 157
 Ptolemaios II Festival Pavilion, see Index B: Alexandria
 public collections 2–9, 72–77, 78, 83, 87, 140–141, 146–151, 157, 158
 public exhibitions 4, 5–6, 11, 45–53, 89, 157, 158
 public vs. private collecting 1–2, 78, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 95, 96, 143
- Quirinal Hill, see Index B: Roma, Mons Quirinalis
- regionary catalogues 13, 76–77
 relic 2, 144, 146, 151–155, 161
 Renaissance 7, 9, 11, 23, 56–57, 64, 70, 156, 160
 replica 10, 52–53
 Roman Empire (historical period) 6–8, 12–15, 16–17, 23, 143, 156, 157, 158, 160
 Roman Republic (historical period) 4–6, 11–12, 54–55, 143, 157, 158
 royal collecting 1, 3–4, 9–15, 43–44, 45–53, 54–71, 157, 160
- sacred collection 2–3, 4–6, 17, 24–31, 158
 Sacred War, Third 39
 sacro-idyllic landscape painting 17
 Saeptha Iulia, see Index B: Roma
 sanctuary 2–4, 5–6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 25–31, 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 49–53, 72, 74, 75, 109, 135, 158, 160
Sappho (portrait of) 53, 91, 94
 Schlossmuseum (concept) 22
 scholarship 1, 4, 7, 18, 28–31, 72, 157, 160
 Scipio, Lucius Cornelius Asiaticus (triumph of), see triumph
 sculptors 110
 Asian 141–142
 Seleukid dynasty 31, 46
 senate 75
 Senate House, see Index B: Constantinopolis
Serapis (statue of) 75
Serpent Column, see Index B: Constantinopolis
 Severe Style 11, 49, 51
 Shield of Akhilleus 2, 15, 16
 ship 42–43, 92
 shrine (see also Index D: *fanum*) 2, 4, 5, 10, 14, 16, 17, 44
 Sikyonian school of painting 4, 10, 97
 silenoi, see Index D: *silenoi*
 silver (see also tableware and vessels) 12, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 91, 92, 97, 103–105, 109, 123
 Skylla 134
 space and time 78, 79, 80, 81, 86–88

spolia/spoliation, see plunder; also Index D: *spolia*

statuary 35, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44

heirlooms 53, 137–138, 144, 158

Late Antique 8–9, 137, 141–142, 158, 161

recarved 139, 140

repair 138, 139

second-hand/antique 47–53, 139–140, 145

workshops 139, 141–142

stibadium, see Index D

style 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 156, 157

symplegma, see Index C: Kephisodotos

table ornaments 10, 106–107

table talks 134, 156

tables of citrus, see citronwood

tableware (see also silver and vessels) 10, 47–48, 103–106

taxonomy 157, 159, 160

temple collection, see temple treasures

temple inventory 3, 7, 24–31, 73, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127

Temple of Aphrodite, see Index B: Eryx

Temple of Apollo, Palatine Hill, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Apollo Sosianus, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Apollon, see Index B: Delphoi

Temple of Athena, see Index B: Pergamon

Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Dionysos, see Index B: Pergamon

Temple of Divus Augustus, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Fortuna Virilis, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Hercules Musarum, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Mars Ultor, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Mater Matuta, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Peace, see Index B: Roma

Temple of Zeus, see Index B: Akragas

temple treasure 2–3, 4–5, 24–31, 81, 123

Terme Ruler (statue of) 74

terracotta sculpture 4, 46

textiles 12, 21, 26, 47, 123, 139

theatre 6, 7, 11, 119

Theatre of Pompeius, see Index B: Roma

thuya, see Index D: *thuya*

Timotheos (portrait of) 53

tomb, see grave sites

tondo bust 142–143

tourism 6, 30–31, 45, 48, 52, 142, 156

treasury 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 15, 18, 52, 88, 122, 123, 124, 128

Triptolemus (statue of) 72

triumph 4, 42, 44, 158, 160

Manlius Vulso, Gnaeus (triumph of) 104

Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (triumph of) 6–7, 12, 54, 105

Scipio, Lucius Cornelius Asiaticus (triumph of) 12, 104

Trojan Horse (panel relief, see also Index B: Pergamon) 53

True Cross 153

Tyrannicides (sculptural group) 73

Vandals 123, 160

vase painting 124–127

vessels (see also luxury objects, tableware, Murrhine vessels) 2, 4, 10,

11, 12, 33, 34, 39, 41, 46–48, 105–106

golden table vessels 34, 39, 104

Villa of Hadrianus, see Index B: Tivoli

villas (see also individual place names in Index B) 1, 6, 11, 12, 13–14,

16, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 104, 110, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124–126,

128, 137–145

virtual collections, see collections

votive offering 2–3, 5–9, 12, 15–17, 18, 24–30, 33, 45–53, 76, 100, 119,

122–123, 128, 131, 136, 158, 161

wall painting, see mural painting

weapons 6, 28, 39, 41, 53, 116

Wounded Amazon (statue of) 74

Wounded Woman and Baby (painting of, see also Index C: Aristeides of Thebai) 47

Wunderkammer 23

Zeus of Olympia, see Index C: Pheidias